1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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524 The man looked so moved by what he told us that we had qualms about continuing the conversation with him about his dead family, and so we asked him about the game board. "Why is it, Kasanya, that young Amnika of your [322] village said he could not make us a game board, fine carver that he is? You yourself know that the board is just a piece of wood with holes in it for the seeds. It is not beautiful; there are no decorations on it."

765 "It is because he is young. His hair isn't white like mine.
524 Making an adji board is a big thing. It's not a little thing. It is on this we play when the body of the dead lies in the house of mourning to entertain his spirit, his yorka. Only [554] an old man who has lost his wife may make a board for this game which is played for the dead."

"But suppose he did make it?"

[776] "Then he would get a kunu, Bakra," he said with an impatient cluck which was intended to deplore the white man's inability to understand simple things.

776 And so again we came to kunu, and since he himself had brought it up, we decided to stir the hole once more to see what was in it. Kasanya talked with less hesitation than we had come to expect. It is easier for an older man who has had experience with the spirits and knows their ways to talk about the supernatural. He understands what he may and may not do, and then, too, with his greater knowledge he can tell more without offending the spirits who disapprove of a man's telling too great a part of his store.

"Yes, Bakra, kunu is a difficult thing for you, a white man, to understand. But we black people know what brings kunu. Many things bring kunu. Look, I made three children. Fine men all three. One died, the second died, the third died. . . . "

688 This was his story. His wife's mother's brother brought the curse on his family. He had cut a new field, and the trees he had felled and the brush he had cut had been lying for some time, as was proper, that the dead wood might ●[241] be burned off to clear the ground so that the ash might enrich the soil.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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"I'll tell you how it is mostly," he went on, after a silence. "Sometimes a woman will lie about the father of her child. The child will grow up keeping the trefu of a strange man. But it won't be his real trefu. His mother, you see, lied about his father. In the end, if nothing is done, this child will be sick, and later he will become a leper. Only a bad woman will lie about her child's father, because only a bad woman will want to hurt her own child. It doesn't happen among the girls who wear kerchiefs and live the way the old people live. These girls dance to the spirits. They are afraid of the ancestors. They are afraid of their *akra*—their soul—and the Earth Mother. But those girls who wear hats—ai, Massa, those girls do anything!"

But here in the bush, it seemed, they had other beliefs about leprosy, he went on. Here they believed it was a kind of a spirit, too. When a leper died he was not given a good burial. No wakes were held for him. He was given no coffin. He was buried in the Bad Bush, where the sorcerers were thrown.

"When a leper dies, they don't want him to come back again. They don't treat his spirit well. They do the same with him as with a madman. They bury him with no more ceremony than a child, who came on earth, and would not stay. They say it's all because of a bad spirit, and they don't want bad spirits on earth."

4

"Why do we plant away from the village?"

It was the old woman talking, as we sat and smoked with her. The moon had come up above the maripa palm trees behind the house where the leper had been helped into his hammock, and it was pleasant out-of-doors.

"Why, you ask? Well, sometimes when the bush is burned, a wind comes up suddenly, and sends the flames, down, down, beyond the cleared ground. How would it be with a village, if we cleared our grounds too close to it, and this happened? No, Bak'a, we people of the bush know better. . . . What do you say? Why do we do our clearing

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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241 361 away from the river? When the big rains come, the river goes up more and more. If our crops were too close to the water, then in the big rains the land would be flooded, and the crops long under water. . . . Yes, and we have to [136] think of the ants, too. Ants, once they find their way into a field, will destroy everything. They like especially the [137] green leaves of the young cassava plants. When the young leaves go, there is no cassava. So we move farther and farther away for our fields. Two, three years, and new fields must be cut, so that the yield might feed us all."

311 241 Once a field had been deserted, say, for five years, why did they not reclaim it later? we enquired, for by that time the big bush would have made fertile again the soil that had been exhausted.

"In this bush we do it like that. Why, I don't know. Our ancestors found much land for us. When we want new fields, we cut farther and farther into the bush."

5

As Bayo and Angita set off for the dance at Pa'aba, Kasanya and Sedefo joined us, and we talked of crops and [521] planting, of woman's work and man's, of good harvests and bad, and this is what was told us.

[462] Finding a new field and clearing it is a man's task. If a man is about to be married, or if the field a man's wife works has become exhausted, then he goes into the forest, near to the planting ground of his mother and to the fields of his family, and casts about for a place to clear. A field 311 241 must not be in a hollow, or the crops will not grow, and rice needs the sun of a hill slope to thrive. Once having 711 found a spot where the drainage is good, he looks about to see if the spirits will allow its use. Patiently, painstakingly, he goes from one clump of matted vines to the next, machete in hand, searching for signs of an ant hill, or an Akatasi tree that is sacred to the gods of the ant hill, or for snakes, or a natural clearing belonging to the Apuku gods of the bush. No silk-cotton tree must be there, no loko tree wherein dwells the god of the same name so near that it

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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might catch fire were a wind to come up when the underbrush is burned. If he spies a slender bent liana from which the Kromanti "Congo-bush" sticks are made, then he has to be sure to cut it down with the proper invocation, so that the spirit inside the liana will not bend him to its own shape.

Kasanya continued his explanation. "When a field is found, it is the man who clears it." A man calls on his relatives or friends to help him. The men come with their machetes, and they cut away at bushes and shrubs, they cut away the lianas which are twined about the trees, and then the trees themselves. Then they go away, leaving what they have cut to dry. "To take all this away would be too hard, and, besides, fire does the work better, and fertilizes the ground as well."

So, when the wood is dry, they come with fire, and let the fire finish the work. Then the ashes are allowed to lie for a time, for, though this clearing is done during the dry season, occasional showers can be relied upon to work the ash into the ground. Then, too, the time for planting is not yet.

"Many things we plant a little before the old year meets the new," the old woman said.

"When it is time to break the ground," Kasanya went on, "the man and the woman work together. It is then that the woman begins her work in this field. What was done before had to do with cutting timber, and our proverb says: Woodworking is not a woman's affair."

The man alone clears the ground, but the woman helps him break the earth.

"Breaking the ground is not easy," the old woman again interrupted. The matted roots have to be dug up with an iron hoe, for the Bush Negro works as his ancestors did hundreds of years ago in Africa. He has no plough, no beast of burden to help him in the fields.

When all this is done, then it is time to see to the consecration of the earth to its fertile uses. Rituals vary with each clan, and often from village to village of the same clan.

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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782 241 535 Among the people of one group, the principal ceremony may be held in the clearing itself. The drums are brought, and men and women and children pray for fertility. The beautifully carved apinti drum sounds the invocation to the Great God and to the ancestors, while the tall agida drums are brought to call the earth spirits. Two by two the men dance susa, the dance which in pantomime reproduces an ancient warrior's combat with spear and shield, the winner taking on a new combatant, until the final winner is given a wand as a reward, and gains for himself the title of "G'aman of Susa" until the next dance is held. Other dances follow. Perhaps the women now line up in two long [585] rows facing each other, and dance bandamba, the dance [845] which celebrates marriage and the birth of twins, and the birth of a child who is born feet foremost. The motions are the slow rhythmic manipulations of the muscles of hips and [842] abdomen. It is a dance of fertility, danced by the very young girls as well as by those who have borne children. But the women who are past the age for dancing sit with [888] their men, arms interlaced, swaying to the rhythms of the songs they sing. . . . There are offerings to the earth spirits, poured upon the earth out of black obia pots and [1169] calabashes, while other offerings are set upon the ground for the ancestors.

In another settlement, the ritual would be chiefly carried on in the village itself, and there might be a local dance of [842] fertility, danced nowhere else on the river. "An old, old ancestress taught it to us," the villagers would say.

462 241 When it is time to plant, the woman plants with the man's help.

782 539 "When I plant a new field," said the younger woman, "I pray as I work."

And this is her prayer:

O Sky God, Mother of the Earth, Ancestors,
I am planting a field,
Make it bear;
People who come to me must eat,

1t Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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THE PROVISION GROUND

O spirits, you must help me.
Help me find food,
That I may give to those who come;
Help me find food,
That all those who come to me may eat.
I am planting pinda,
Make it come;
I am planting yams,
My yams must grow;
I am planting cassava,
Make my cassava yield;
I am planting rice,
Make it come;
Let the earth copulate well,
Let me, too, be fruitful;
Let me live by my work;
My children have gone down the river,
They have gone to the white man's country,
Let them live and be fruitful;
When they return to me,
Let them bring back possessions;
O spirits, I myself must live,
I have belongings,
Let my belongings live;
Mother of the Earth,
This new field which was found
Make it yield food for me,
Make it yield for those who come;
I have planted seed,
The seed must bear.
O Great God, Earth spirits, Ancestors,
I thank you.

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After the planting, the life of the women is spent at the provision grounds for the greater portion of the year, for the crops must be carefully tended. The jungle is not hospitable to those who invade it, and it is only at the

1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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462 price of grueling effort that a living can be wrested from its
241 jealous grasp. The women in their fields care for the growing crops, hoeing the ground so that moisture and sun reach the young plants, seeing that the lianas which throw their creepers over the cleared spaces to throttle the tender shoots do not get headway, and, as each crop ripens, attending to its harvesting.

262 Yams, cassava, and nappi are roots. For their planting
243 some of the crop of the year before is preserved and cut up.
244 But rice and peanuts, or pinda, as these are called here in the bush, and maize, of which the Bush Negroes learned from the Indians, and okra grow from seeds. The rice is planted on a hillside, for the Bush Negro does not grow irrigated rice, but the dry African variety that thrives on the slopes. Cassava, okra, peppers, plantains, peanuts, beans, sugar cane—each crop is allotted its own space, until the newly cleared ground is filled. A woman usually has two fields cut for her; one is called a rice field and one a cassava field. In each, the crops which yield several harvests a year are rotated. The cassava roots take nine months at least to ripen, but it is better to leave them in the ground ten or eleven months.

"It is the time of the great harvest now," the old woman said.

243 These were busy days for the women. With their short-
244 handled knives, they cut the rice stalk by stalk and made small sheaves of the golden grain, raked over the dirt so that the peanuts might be found and gathered, chopped the ripe sugar cane with the machetes which they handled with the same sureness as did their men, and dug out the cassava roots so that they might be carried to the village
[262] and made into flour for the cassava bread which was the staple of their diet.

"The corn," she said, "is not harvested now. We cut it at a different time; and the melons ripen later, too." At other times of the year there were other harvests, but this one, of the months of July and August, was the principal one.

1: Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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rod set into a base of clay, rotated steadily as she worked. Her fingers moved fast, for she did not require too fine a thread. The raw cotton, she said, she got from a wild "cotton tree." Cotton which was picked in the fields and which grew from seeds planted in the ground, she did not know at all. Was there such cotton?

Working in the fields, she continued, was not too difficult. It was a woman's work. A woman did not mind it. From earliest childhood girls followed their mothers about, and learned how to work the fields.

"What is hard is having to cut my own field. I have no man to cut it for me. I must cut it myself."

She paused for an instant to right her thread.

"When I plant my field, and pray to the gods to make the seed grow, then I ask the Earth Mother to help me find a way to get a man to cut my field for me. 'Earth Mother,' I say, 'help me find a man to cut my field. I have great need of a man to burn my ground.' . . . "

Seeing two women approach, she said, "Fenekonde here is like myself, she too needs a man to cut her field."

But this needed explaining. Here were two women who called the Granman "husband," and who shared the difficulty of having to clear their own fields.

It was soon made apparent, however, that both of these women were only nominally wives of the Granman. They had married into his family. When kunu, however, killed one successor to his office after the other, these women were made widows. Like the widow who now worked alone before her house which fronted the clearing, where stood the shrine to the great gods and the Granman's principal houses, they had worn tattered clothes, and a twisted kerchief as a band on their heads. For five months this had lasted, and then a dance was given.

Did the white woman know about the ceremony called *pai Adyo?*

The white woman had heard the word Dyo-dyo from natives of the town many times. Once, indeed, a question about it put to an old woman, who it later developed was

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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241 313 Behind each village, a quarter of a mile to five miles distant, are its provision grounds, which the women work. They consist of tiny patches of half an acre or more, carved out of the heart of the jungle by means of terrific labour. It [442] takes the men weeks of work with axes and bush-knives to clear the ground. The fallen trees, some of extremely hard wood, are cut up, burnt, or carried away. The brush is cleared with a machete, or bush-knife, which Negroes call a neefee; they swing this blade with amazing force by making the wrist the centre of its arc.

462 241 The women, as in most primitive societies, tend to the planting and harvesting of the crops. They are helped by the men of the family on some occasions, such as when the harvest is threatened by voracious parasites. The arduous labour of cultivating the stubborn earth comes so naturally to a Bush Negro woman that she is incredulous when told that elsewhere the males alone till the soil.

136 241 A leaf-cutting ant, *Ecodoma cephalotes*, that carries small bits of leaves into its nest, preys on the cassava fields. These ants march in two parallel columns, one going to the fields and the other returning, and systematically ruin the crop. The bit of green that each ant is carrying off looks like an umbrella; hence they are called umbrella ants. They live on a fungus which they grow on the cut leaves. Large numbers of them working together can denude an entire cassava field in a comparatively short time.

134 241 The jungle ground is not excessively fertile, for the incessant downpours leach out the humus, and there is not

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

sufficient time for the nitrogenous substances to be reduced to fertilizing material. Because of this poverty of the ground and the constant foraging of insect and bird pests—the parrot is notorious among these—the cultivation of food is difficult and laborious for the Bush Negroes and the provision ground must often be moved to a fresh site.

Their main carbohydrate staple is the manioc or bitter cassava. It is a tuber-like plant that grows some three to seven feet in height, the edible portion being the underground root. The root contains the poisonous prussic acid, which must be carefully removed. Bush Negroes have been known to commit suicide by drinking the juice of the cassava. The plant itself resembles the tobacco plant, but has a stalk covered with bark and large roots that look like sweet potatoes.

The roots are harvested, carefully peeled, and reduced to a pulp by being rubbed on the roughened surface of an inclined board, the expelled free juices rolling down the incline into a bowl. The rest of the plant is thrown away. The pulp is stuffed into a cylindrical squeezing contrivance made of reed, known as the *matapee*. It resembles one of those toy finger grippers of straw that children play with. The reeds being flexible, elongating the tube by pulling at the ends reduces the diameter of it; this compresses the contents of the cylinder and squeezes out the deadly juice which then runs off into a bowl below. The matapee is a beautifully woven piece of basketry about five feet long and seven inches in diameter. The upper end is attached to the limb of a tree and a heavy stone is suspended from the lower end, the

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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Marriage requires a bride price, consisting of pieces of cloth, sugar, tobacco, and some carved wooden implements, such as combs, paddles, trays. These are handed over to the bride's family as presents. Then the wife simply moves into her husband's hut, or he into hers. Despite their pre-marital promiscuity, it is said that on the bridal night all the inhabitants of a Bush Negro village will gather outside the hut to hear what the husband has to say regarding the bride's virginity. If the girl is not a virgin, part of the bride price may be refunded, at the husband's discretion. The gathering on such an occasion is attended by much jocularity.

The Djuka husband builds a hut for each one of his women and has another for himself, to which he may retire whenever he feels the need of bachelor seclusion. The woman sleeps in her own hut, cooks, and raises her children there. The husband comes to her when he wants to, and leaves her for another wife when impulse so guides him. She seldom quarrels with the other wives, who may even live in separate villages.

Each wife has her own provision ground, where she grows rice and cassava; her husband has cleared it for her. The cassava fields are owned by individual women, but are held in very loose tenure. At harvest time, or when a plague of insects is threatening, the women of several households work together in common.

The man's hut is called his *gudu oso*, or "treasure house." It serves to impress his women with his importance and wealth. They are forbidden to enter it, but, woman-like, they insist on peeping in. So he keeps many boxes and wood carv-

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286 garments /pandjes/ or articles of dress and other knitted goods.
[413] They also know how to make very attractive hammocks of cotton.

Chapter VII

Food, Drinks, Delicacies, and so forth.

262 [252] Their daily food is mainly rice and cassava (1) bread which

1. Sweet cassava, the farina from the root of the Janipha manihot, not to be confused with Jatropha manihot, which gives the bitter cassava, which, however much is removed by boiling and continued washing, contains a very poisonous component.

is baked on an iron plate and provides a tasty food that can be [241] kept for a long time. During the dry season, the months of September, October, and November, the ground also supplies them with a very mealy and tasty tuber called nappi (2); throughout the year,

2. Dioscorea sativa and Dioscorea alata L.

however, they grow yams, sweet potatoes (3), tayers (4), and cassava.

3. Convolvulus batatas L. and Batatas edulis Choisy.

4. Root from Arum esculentum.

[439] They have bananas only from time to time, whenever they exchange them on plantations for squared wood, which they pur- [433] posely work for this exchange. They know how to obtain wild game [263] and fish in great quantities; salt is an article greatly in demand.

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121 The agriculture of the Bush Negroes, however, has become
[241] a matter which urgently demands the attention of the administration as a result of the wasteful use of land. Until now little attention has been paid to this, but if one wants to develop the interior of Surinam, this problem will also have to be looked into.

101 The data provided here throw light upon the agriculture of
121 the Paramaccaners and the Aucaners on the Marowijne and the
[103] Tapanahoni. They were gathered during the above-mentioned medical expedition and during a trip to the Tapanahoni in October, 1952. The facts thus refer primarily to the Marowijne, but in general they are certainly also valid for the other rivers along
121 which the Bush Negroes live. It is a typically Surinam problem,
648 connected with the circumstance that the Bush Negroes have worked in the deep interior in the same fashion for hundreds of years, independent of the life in the civilized coastal region and almost completely outside the sphere of interest of the government.

2. The Grounds System

241 For the planting of agricultural crops the Bush Negro lays out little so-called food grounds. One is to understand by this cleared pieces of ground in the virgin forest on which the crops
[311] are cultivated. The grounds lie along the rivers on higher flat lands, mostly terraces that are not submerged during high water or, in the absence of such terrain, on the slopes of hills. They are more or less circular and have a surface area of a half to one and a half hectares.

241 During the long dry season (October, November) the men
221 clear the grounds. Two to three weeks thereafter the forest that
132 has been felled is burned; the smaller branches are cleared away,
462 but the trunks are left lying. The ground is not worked. As soon as the rains of the short rainy season begin, they start to plant and sow. This planting time falls in December and January. The wives of the Bush Negroes (for only the women do the further work) now plant all kinds of crops at the same time on one and the same ground.

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241 221 the same ground. The crops are thus scattered higgledy piggledy or at best are arranged in little patches. The harvest periods of these crops have a certain sequence. Two groups are to be differentiated, namely, (1st) the rapidly growing "annual" crops, and (2nd) the perennial crops, which grow more slowly.

/137/ To the first belong:

maize, is harvested after three months (in February and March);
watermelon, idem;
okra, produces edible fruit in three months (February, March) and still for a time after that;
pumpkin, gives ripe fruit in four months (April) and thereafter;
pinda /peanut/ and ogobo, blooms after three months (February, March) and supplies produce after five months (May, June);
bongila, idem;
tobacco, is ripe for picking after 4-5 months, blooms after 7 months;
rice, is ripe after 4-5 months (May-July).

To the second category belong the perennial crops:

sugar cane, is cut already after 5-6 months, but the stools are kept up to two years and longer;
cassava, the tubers are harvested after 7 months and longer;
tajer, napi, yams, and patatas, are harvested (aside from exceptions; see separate list) after 8 to 10 months (August to November), but also continuously thereafter;
pineapple, is ripe after 9 months;
bacove, ripe fruit after 10 months, the stools are kept;
bananas, harvested after 10 to 12 months continuously after that from the new stools.

241 The advantage of this method of planting is that the grounds supply something during the entire year. A disadvantage, however, is that new grounds must be laid out each year. In this manner, various grounds are always in use for a household /gezin/. In the first year the ground supplies above all the products that grow most rapidly and some perennial crops; in the second year one harvests principally cassava, bacove, bananas,

/137 cont./

241 and sugar cane, while in the third year some pineapples, bananas, and sugar cane are also harvested.

Thereafter one surrenders the ground to the second growth (kapoeweri) shooting up, here called "kauwé," and to the weeds, like the cutting grass "baboen nefi" (Scleria secans), which prevent further growth of the cultivated crop.

This system of clearing grounds requires much land. It is a severely predatory cultivation which can only be employed when sufficient free land is available. Only after many years can one return to the same piece of forest to lay out a new ground, depending on the recovery of the forest, more particularly on the top growth.

[592] Among the Bush Negroes of the Marowijne it is the rule that [476] each household provide for itself. The man clears the ground with help of family /familie/ members or friends, who in return for food are taken in during this time. If the man has /138/ one wife, then ordinarily two grounds per year are cleared; if he has more than one wife, then he clears two grounds for each wife.

[622] The captain /kapitein/ of a village lays out his ground him- [643] self, helped by his villagers. The granman /chief/, however, does not work himself, but, regardless of the number of his wives, has his family and other helpers clear grounds in return for food for the 423 workdays. The products of the grounds of a household are not joint 593 property, but rather the wife asserts her rights over the produce from one ground, while the man claims that from the other ground. Thus a distinction is made between the agrarian property of the wife and that of the husband.

3. The Plague of Ants and the Ant-bushes

241 825 In the agriculture of the Bush Negroes the plague of ants plays a significant role. The leaf-cutting or parasol ants (Atta sexdens and Atta cephalotes) are very destructive because of their attacks on the leaves in the plantings. The first-named species is the greatest evildoer in the interior districts of Surinam. Cassava in

/138 cont./

241 825 particular suffers greatly from this type of ant, but maize, tajer, and bananas are also eaten. This plague is so serious that the clearing of a new ground is partially determined by the occurrence of the nests of these ants at the place. Normally these nests lie fairly far apart in the forest, but as soon as the crops of the grounds come within the domain of the ants, the nests grow rampantly. In addition, at just about planting time the ants produce numerous sexual forms, which, as a result of the cleared lands, have a favorable opportunity to swarm and found new colonies. The leaf-cutting ants are therefore "Kulturfolger" /followers of culture/.

As a result of this plague of ants, it is usually not possible for the Bush Negroes to cut extensions to the existing grounds for longer than two to three years. After all, the kapoeweri of the abandoned pieces of ground functions then as a hiding place for the younger ant-nests, and one drags, as it were, the ant plague along with one. There is no combating the ants, and through impotence the Bush Negro is forced to yield the field. This flight before the ants consists in the search for new grounds farther into the bush or, in case this is no longer possible for some reason, in the occupation of new lands elsewhere along the river.

137 186 /139/ Stahel (1) has pointed to the fact that among the Bush

[113] 1. Het Bosnegervraagstuk en het Coronieplan /The Bush Negro Question and the Coronie Plan/, Department Landbouwproefstation Surinam /Department of Agriculture Research Station, Surinam/, Report No. 9, October, 1944, 28 pp.

Negroes the older grounds change into a low second-growth, called by him "ant-kapoeweri" /ant-bush/. In effect, in many places where a dense Bush Negro population is found, such a strip of second growth occurs along the rivers. According to Stahel, this inferior bush comes 13 about through the presence of the great nests of leaf-cutting ants. Ac- [114] cording to his calculation, at a density of six ant nests per hectare (a maximum which is confirmed in the vicinity of Paramaribo, but which, according to my own observations in the Bush Negro lands,

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13 seems too high to me), the ants can bring into the soil each year two to three tons of leaf material per hectare. As a result the soil would be so enriched with humus and, in addition, through the construction of the numerous nest corridors, receive so much extra ventilation that the oxygen content and the microbiological condition of this soil would tend to differ from the mineral soils in which the virgin forest is rooted. As proof of this, it is stated "that even the oldest ant-kapoeweri directly behind the villages shows no tendency to grow into normal high forest" (p. 13).

114 137 136 It does not seem correct to me to ascribe this kapoeweri phenomenon only to the presence and the activity of the leaf-cutting ants. In my opinion the ants here constitute a troublesome contributing factor, for when the virgin-forest grounds are abandoned by the population and no new food material is available to the ants while the kapoeweri gradually grows into higher forest, then the balance in the ant population re-establishes itself. This process takes place at a slow rate, depending on the local circumstances, but it leads to the re-establishment of the original situation. There is, however, one condition connected with it, namely, that the forest be left in peace for a long enough stretch.

241 134 Now this last is not the case for the grounds area of the Bush Negroes. They return too soon (within ten years) to clear grounds again, with the consequence that the soil becomes too exhausted and the recovery of the forest becomes impossible.

171 241 137 [136] Proof for this viewpoint is already provided by Stahel (loc. cit.) in his consideration of the agriculture of the upland Indians. The absence of the ant-kopoeweri there is not a matter of a lesser ant infestation, as Stahel /140/ believes -- for in places this is equally serious -- but of a less intensive use of the forest lands.

[161] 423] [361] The Indians are present in small numbers (a few hundred, as against thousands of Bush Negroes), while only communal plots are laid out for one village, and not different ones for each family. In addition, the Indians move frequently in order to find new hunting and fishing grounds.

/140 cont./

241 There is yet another factor which plays a role in the origin
134 of the grounds-kapoeweri. This is the use of fire in clearing the
137 ground. The burning of the cut forest is done at the expense of the humus on and in the soil. The fertilization with ashes that one obtains by it only partially covers this loss. Furthermore, under the influence of the fire there are great disturbances in the balance of the microflora and fauna of the soil, hindering the conversion of organic materials into inorganic compounds. Sun and rain bring changes in the structure of the scorched earth, which forms a cement-like crust and becomes sealed. Also the growing of cultivated crops, especially cassave, draws many mineral components from the soil.

13 It is clear that the soil needs time to recover after this disturbance of the balance. This period of time is estimated at 25-30 years. The leaf-cutting ants play a part in this; they again enrich the soil with humus by bringing great quantities of leaves into their ground nests. In addition, they ventilate the soil by digging numerous nest corridors. In this manner the ants contribute
[242] to the recovery. It is well-known, moreover, that the soil on old leaf-cutting ant nests is fertile; one likes to plant bananas on it. If we assume with Stahel that in this kapoeweri six ant nests per hectare are found, then these nests together would only have a maximum surface of one-tenth of it. This would never be able to hinder the full growth of the forest.

136 That the leaf cutting ants occupy the secondary growth, or at
137 least are present there in greater numbers than is normally the case
241 in the forest, may be a consequence of the laying out of new grounds within their domain. Because of the lack of land, the Bush Negroes are constantly trying to lay out grounds again in this forest. The ants, moreover can maintain themselves because there are various forest trees that supply the ants with sufficient leaf material.

13 Thus, because of both the decreased capacity of the soil and
311 the presence of the leaf-cutting ants, the ant-kapoeweri forms a terrain that has become unusable for present-day primitive Bush Negro agriculture./141/ And from the standpoint of forestry too the ant-kapoeweri is worthless.

/141 cont./

4. The Agrarian Law

241 423 There is yet another circumstance which adversely affects the agriculture of the Bush Negroes. As among many primitive peoples, so also in the life of the Djoeka /Djuka/ customary law plays an important role. We have already seen that at least two grounds per year are laid out per household. In fact it comes down to this, that both the man and the woman possess a ground of their own. Now these two grounds do not lie next to each other or close to each other. On the contrary, the one ground is always hours away from the other one; it is to be found on the other side of the river or elsewhere along a forest creek. One might think that this is a kind of division of risks. In actuality it is a question of family property. The ground of the wife is cleared in the area of her family, and the ground of the man in his family complex. The grounds are thus laid out with reference to the large family and not with reference to the household. Each family has a definite area where it has the right to clear grounds. This area lies along a forest creek, or one lays out a path from the river through the forest, along which the grounds [578] are cleared. Not infrequently, quarrels arise over the use of land by "unauthorized" persons on distinctly family land.

A Bush Negro thus cannot simply select a piece of forest for his ground wherever he pleases. He is bound by the law of family property. This applies not only to the families among themselves, but in a larger context also to the villages. Each village has its area within which the families from that village lay out grounds. Only through marriage can men lay out grounds for their wives in the area of another village.

These complications in agriculture lead to the circumstance that the hunger for land arises much sooner than would otherwise [361] be the case. Add to this the fact that many Bush Negro villages remain in existence for a very long time, sometimes 100 years at [161] a stretch, in the same spot. It is therefore not surprising that through the growth in population in such centers, too, the limit of this predatory cultivation has been reached.

/141 cont./
241 of this predatory cultivation has been reached. The nearby
423 agricultural lands are kept in use with too brief a rest period, with
[134] the result that the soil is overworked and the periodic recovery
[825] of the forest proceeds at an ever slower pace. In addition one struggles to an increasing degree with the problem /142/ of the leaf-cutting ants, which keep the easily accessible places occupied.

241 The consequence of this circumstance is that the Bush Negroes
311 are forced to make the grounds farther and farther from their vil-
[484] lages. One travels for hours up or down the river in order to
[482] reach good land. When one cannot make good use of a forest creek in order to transport the produce from the field, one is forced to carry the harvest for one or two hours through the forest to the river. The Bush Negro does not go farther than a two hours' walk (about six kilometers from the river) (see the map /see p. 13 /).

241 On the Tapanahoni one spends even days in traveling to less
311 populated areas in order to plant and to harvest. One then estab-
361 lishes so-called work camps along the river, from which one
[103] operates in the surrounding areas. This is the case, among others, between Godoholo and Granbori for people from Drietabbetje or
311 other centers. That one does not go even farther up river, all the
423 way past the last village, Granbori, has to do with a prohibition
643 by the granman of the Aucaners. That is, the latter wants to reserve the lands lying beyond this point as hunting lands and therefore will not make them available for agricultural purposes.

241 The inhabitants of the villages along the lower Tapanahoni,
311 such as Sajé, Clementi, and Malobbi, frequently lay out their food
423 grounds in the Lawa, where they can have at their disposal agri-
361 cultural lands as far as the Aboenasoengoe Falls. Farther upstream
103 on this river the Bonni or Aloekoe Negroes assert their rights.

5. Differences between Aucaners and Paramaccaners

101 The conditions given above apply in the main to the Aucaner
162 Bush Negroes of the Tapanahoni. They number today approximately
[311] 6,500 persons. The Paramaccaner Bush Negroes of the Marowijne, approximately 1,700 in number, are in somewhat more favorable

/143 cont./

433 The solution of this problem in my opinion lies in this, that in the first place agricultural methods which are based upon a better and more economical use of the land must be practiced. It is the task of the Department of Agriculture to investigate which possibilities the lands permit and which crops can best be cultivated; it is for this reason that to these observations is added a list of crops presently in use among the Bush Negroes. A small team of young Bush Negroes will have to be trained by the Agricultural Information Service to familiarize them with the new methods.

Next to that, combating the ants will have to be seriously taken in hand in conjunction with the plans for a modified agriculture. For this, too, people from the area itself will have to receive training, and a permanent work-team will have to be formed. It is unfeasible and unnecessary to clear the entire area now in use. Insecticides such as carbon sulfate, methylbromide, and parathion -- applied with the necessary caution -- could be used with success in places.

/144/ The District Administration will also have to provide co-operation in order to find a compromise between the customary laws of the Bush Negroes and the new regulations to be introduced concerning the use of land.

7. The Cultivated Crops and Their Use

241 [171] [114] Although for the most part the cultivated plants are those generally in use as agricultural crops in Surinam, there is still not much known in detail concerning the crops that are cultivated by the Bush Negroes for their sustenance. Giving a general survey of these plants is thus necessary first of all, with a report on the way in which they are used.

[174] From a more historical point of view it is of interest to point to a number of important plants that are of African origin and have only still remained in use among the Bush Negroes, such as [177] agobo and bongila. Furthermore presumably there are still varieties of ordinary cultivated plants present here -- such as sugar cane, bacove and bananas, species of tajer and yams -- from the

/144 cont./

241 [177] time that the runaway slaves took these with them from the plantations then in existence.

It is therefore worthwhile in various respects to explore what is 241 being cultivated. The following summary has been put together 114 from the data of my own observations and from information pro- [128] vided by various Bush Negroes. This list is not complete; what is lacking, however, is probably of minor importance.

A. Cultivated Crops That Are Grown on the Food Grounds

244 [262] Bitter cassava (kasàba).

This is the most important crop, from which the cassava bread and kwak are made. One plants the shoots in December, but also in March and April. After 12 months the harvest begins; in case of a food shortage they are dug after only seven months. Yellow and white varieties are distinguished according to the color of the contents of the tubers. To the yellow varieties belong: witti tiki, which is kept on the grounds up to two years, blaka tiki, which stands on the grounds only one year, and taja tiki, which provides produce for a long time and is especially good for the making of kwak. To the white varieties belong: amosiang, sanang kasaba, [252] and domberi. Cassava bread is made from this. In the making of kwak all the colors are mixed together in order to obtain the desired yellow color. Each variety separately provides a less tasty product.

252 [184] On the Marowijne one makes more kwak (kwaka) than cassava bread, while on the Surinam River and the Saramacca only cassava bread /a map and Figs. 1-14 appear here/ /145/ is baked with the flour. Kwak is prepared in the following manner: The tubers, after they are peeled, are put in water in a korjaal (1) for two

1. korjaal = boat.

days and then grated. This grated cassava is then allowed to sour in a box or a korjaal; after that the grated cassava is expressed

[text continues on p. 21]

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Fig. 1. Ground of a Paramaccaner on a hill beside the river. For want of flat terrain, the slopes of hills are used. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Grankreck, Oct. 1952.

[311]

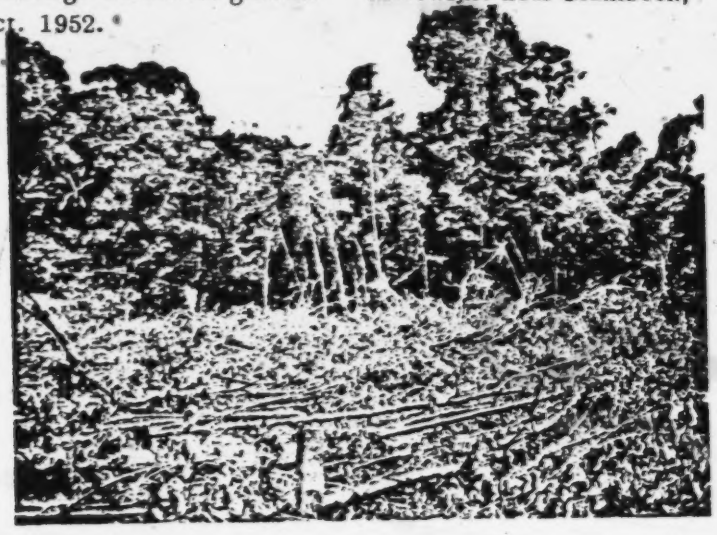

Fig. 2. Newly laid-out ground of an Aucaner, in young second growth. The slender trunks are typical. -- Tapanahoni, Saniki, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 3. Ground on the slopes of the Malobbi range. The surroundings are primary virgin forest; in the distance, the Lely range. -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 4. Newly cleared ground along the river, on a steep slope. The danger of erosion is great. The surroundings are second growth. -- Marowijne near Granbeek, Oct. 1952.

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Fig. 5. Virgin forest in the Malobbi range, with severe fire-scars from a food-ground (in the foreground). -- Tapanahoni, Malobbi, Oct. 1952.

Fig. 6. Food-ground on river terrace, planted for three months. In the foreground, rice and cassava, behind them maize. The surroundings are kapoeweri and, at the right, high second growth. Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March, 1952.

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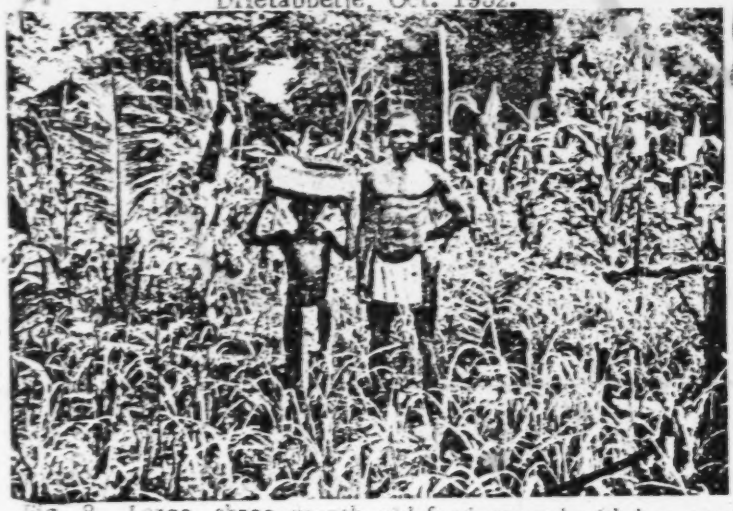
Fig. 7. Ten-month-old food-ground with high cassava. On the right, kapoeweri, weeds in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, Oct. 1952.



[142]
[298]
[482]
[516]

Fig. 8. Large, three-month-old food-ground with harvestable maize and watermelons. Rice in the foreground. -- Tapanahoni, Drietabbetje, March 1952.

/150 cont./

249 There is only one variety of tobacco in use, probably the same one that is grown by the upland Indians. The leaves are 276 hung to dry from the rafters in the dwelling huts. For use, the dried leaves are softened in a small tin with water, and the juice that is poured into the palm of the hand is sniffed up and blown out again.

Bőembie.

249 This is Tephrosia toxicaria, whose roots are used as fish 226 poison. The man-high plants are found standing scattered on the grounds, where they are sowed with the other crops. The plant has hairy leaves and blooms with pink blossoms in clusters.

One uses the dried roots in order to "ponzen" with it between stones in the dry season when the river water is low. This operation consists of crushing the roots into fibers, whereby the poison is released as a milky substance and spreads in the water. In this manner warawara in particular -- in places difficult to reach otherwise -- are captured. According to the Bush Negroes, boembie works better than nekoe (1).

1. nekoe = a liana (Lonchocarpus) which is also used as fish poison.

B. Fruit Trees, Shrubs, and the Other Plants That Are Found in the Bush Negro Villages

● 241 Aside from the temporary crops that are grown on the grounds, [177] the Bush Negro also uses fruit trees and other perennial crops that are planted in and along the edge of the villages. Most of them are well-known imported plants; some palm varieties are native. Perhaps these latter were already present on the spot when the village was established, or they more or less accidentally grew up there by the use of the pits. The following varieties are noted.

Coconut (kokonδto).

245 Occurs practically everywhere in the older villages, but is usually sparse because of the constant sweeping of the ground;

/152 cont./

245 is eaten fresh, but more frequently pounded in the matta, so
263 that the fruit flesh becomes mushy. Over this one sprinkles sugar or sugar syrup and eats it as a delicacy (awá-popo).

Pina palm (apodong).

222 In April-May supplies a marble-sized black fruit which is prepared in the manner described for koemboe. This palm variety grows in groups in swampy places in the forests.

Paramaribo, December, 1952.

/The following summary appears in English on pp. 152-153 of the original source./

SUMMARY

AGRICULTURE AS APPLIED BY THE BUSHNEGROES ALONG THE MARONI AND TAPANAHONI RIVERS

241 During the MEDICAL SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTHERN BORDER OF SURINAM from February till July 1952, in order to get an insight into the medical problems of the interior, the opportunity was

4: Geijskes--34 G,N-5 (1952) 1954 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

taken to investigate into the food supply of the Bushnegroes along the Maroni and Tapanahoni rivers. In this study agriculture, as applied by the Paramaccaner- and Aucaner Bushnegroes, and about which very little is known, is dealt with.

The Bushnegroes obtain their vegetable products by their system of shifting cultivation grounds, while some fruit trees are cultivated in the permanent villages. In the virgin bush they collect some palmfruits, of which they make drinks and palm oil.

The men cut and burn their grounds (each about two acres in size) during the long dry season (Sept.-Dec.). In the short rainy season following upon it (Dec.-Jan.), the women plant several crops (both annual and perennial) at the same time. Of these the harvest times differ widely, so that three months after planting time harvesting starts. Corn, ocras, peanuts, rice give their products in the first half year, while later on manioc and other tuberous plants, such as taro, yams and sweet potatoes follow. Bananas and plantains, sugarcane and pineapple are harvested in the second year.

Each plot of ground is used only for two years and after that it is given prey to the quickly overgrowing secondary vegetation. Each family usually cuts two grounds, one for the husband and one for the wife, so that with the ones cut the preceding year, each family has four grounds in use. These shifting grounds often lie far apart. This is not a division of risks, but a question of family property. The wife is allowed to cut hers only on the grounds of her people and the man to cut his only on his people's grounds. The different family-areas together form the piece of land on which a village can exercise its rights. The cultivation areas of the people of the villages along the river (see map) are assigned to the village captains by the granmans (chiefs) of the different tribes.

Much land is required by this system of shifting cultivation grounds. But owing to the curious laws of agriculture, the Bushnegro is obliged to stay within certain boundaries, which leads to exhaustion of the available soil. The use of the soil is intensified by the increase in the population, and is, besides, seriously threatened by the plague of the leafcutting ants (especially *Atta sexdens*). These ants principally occupy the secondary bush on the abandoned grounds, whence they undertake raids on the neighbouring shifting grounds. When an area is too seriously infected, the Bushnegroes avoid these ants — for lack of any remedy — and lay out new grounds in the virgin bush. As a result more and more secondary bush near the villages, occupied by leafcutting ants, becomes useless („ant-bushes").

Proposed measures to correct this bad state of affairs are: destruction of the nests of the *Atta*-ants and information on agricultural methods together with importation of other and better varieties of the crops used. In this way a more economical use of the grounds becomes possible and a greater production per acre is obtained.

A list of the crops grown by the Bushnegroes and their use is added, together with a statement of the fruit trees cultivated in the villages and of the fruits collected in the virgin bush.

B R 137 241 /512 cont./

The region is entirely covered by equatorial forest which the inhabitants clear for their crops, practicing a shifting agriculture on burned-over land.

B R 311 504 868

Life is closely tied to the river, on the edge of which are established villages and crops. They scarcely move except by water. Everybody, man, woman, or child, has his pirogue, and the children learn to paddle at the same time that they learn to walk.

B R 433

The principal activities of the two populations are agriculture, fishing, and canoeing.

B R 262

There is scarcely any difference between the dietary resources of the Indians and the Boni. The principal portion is manioc, eaten in the form of cassave (flat cakes cooked on a plate) or of couac (roasted and granulated flour). Then come tubers, yams, dasheens, "Carib cabbage" /taro/ and sweet potatoes, bananas and plantains. The Boni in addition plant mountain rice, from which the yield is small; in return, they eat fewer bananas.

B [241]

R [226]

The protein ration is furnished essentially by fish, eaten fresh or smoked. The Indians, skillful fishermen, never lack them. Game furnishes a less regular, but important resource.

B R [231] [439]

Animal husbandry, confined to a few chickens raised mainly to sell, represents only an insignificant part of the diet.

The fat from fish and from animals killed while hunting constitutes the principal portion of lipides. The Boni use in addition, for preparing their meals, a small quantity of maripa palm oil.

Vitamins come from fruit (papaya, pineapple, mangoes), which the Indians eat in greater abundance than the Blacks, from wild spinach, rich in Vitamin A, and palm nuts (awara and caumou), eaten in great abundance during the rainy season.

B R 146

Neither of the two populations is undernourished. The Indians might have been so temporarily during epidemics, when the adults, having been sick for a long time, were unable to clear sufficient land. But they can supplement an inadequate harvest with a great variety of wild foods that can be gathered.

The diet seems poor in mineral elements and especially in calcium. Traces of rachitis are noticeable among some of the Indian children.

/5 cont./

133 This extreme fragmentation of the relief must be remembered
182 as one of the ecological factors influencing the human peopling most directly; it renders the transport of heavy loads impracticable, the establishing of roads practically impossible. Men are led to
[361] settle along the rivers, which constitute the only routes of penetration toward the interior of the country.

133 All the important rivers flow into an alluvial valley whose
132 width varies from some tens of meters to a kilometer, dry during the greater part /6/ of the year, but flooded under several meters
134 of water during the great rains of May-June. This annual inunda-
• 241 tion makes the alluvial lands unfit for agriculture; the inhabitants of Guiana cultivate only sloping lands and even very steep slopes readily; for good drainage of the soil is indispensable for the raising of manioc whose tubers, which remain in the ground for more than a year, are threatened with rotting.

311 The cultivable zone is in fact closely limited around each village. Practically, it is limited to a strip of 1,500 to 2,000 meters along the banks of each watercourse accessible to pirogues.
[482] Transport of manioc tubers, carried on by the women several
[462] times a month, becomes impracticable if the distance to be covered with loads is greater than two kilometers at the maximum (1).

[101]
[131]
[184]

1. The Djuka, very numerous on the Tapanahoni, cultivate as far as three or four kilometers from the river; but in general, the Refugee Blacks prefer to build farming habitations at a distance of several days' by boat from their village when this gives them the possibility of farming in the neighborhood of the banks.

/1 cont./

132 [513] The climate is relatively temperate and easy for the European to stand. In the forest the thermometer does not rise to more than 28° during the hot hours, to go back down to 2[illegible]° at the end of the night: everyone sleeps with a blanket, Refugee Blacks and Creoles as well as Europeans. Humidity is very great during nearly all the year; precipitation averages three meters a year or about 50 centimeters less than at Cayenne. The year is divided into two seasons: "summer" from July to December, and the rainy season the rest of the year, with a maximum of precipitation in May and June. The water level varies considerably in the course of the year (several meters). The populations of the interior, spaced out along the rivers, suit the rhythm of their lives to the height of the water; the water rules transportation, fishing, and crops; moreover, a certain number of illnesses are in close relation to the rains, in particular those which have an insect for vector.

133 182 [361] [164]

241 [134] Almost everywhere the soil is very poor in organic matter and fundamental ingredients, very waterlogged necessitating the practice of an itinerant agriculture on burned-over areas; the period of fallow ground varies from two to ten years, the optimum seeming to be about six. The inhabitants of Guiana cannot allow ground to lie fallow regularly because of the ravages of the manioc ant, /8/ which is active especially in habitually cultivated zones. [136] [134] Vain and costly efforts made by Europeans notably at Saint-Jean du Maroni about 1950, have shown that the fertility of lands not burned over is practically nil. The Indians and the Refugee Blacks consider that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on the weight of cinders laid down during the burning. [242]

When burned-over areas are cultivated, only one harvest is obtained; but this harvest is abundant, and the soil thus utilized can be regarded as relatively fertile. The knocking down and burning do not require great labor, so that primitive agricultural methods can be considered to give a good yield. As a matter of fact, the diverse populations of Guiana, Creoles and Refugee Blacks, have entirely adopted the methods of work resulting from the millennial

241 197

/8 cont./

241 experience of the American Indians, which seem the only utilizable 177 ones in the interior of the country.

Thus these populations which are so varied have in large measure the same agriculture and the same food.

241 Basic crops are manioc, consumed in the form of couac [242] (flour roasted and granulated) which is the base food, the Indian yam, and tubers analogous to taro (dachine, "Caribbean cabbage"). [171] The Refugee Blacks plant mountain rice in addition. The Creoles do not plant rice but have on the other hand a greater variety of vegetables and fruits.

311 Men in Guiana live on the rivers; villages and cultivated 36 lands are to be found on their banks; everywhere else one finds 182 only the deserted forest; only Creole gold miners, constrained by their work, sometimes establish their villages far from watercourses.

181 The Refugee Blacks, like the Indians, love the rivers where they 182 find, along with water and light, the possibility of moving with- 171 out hindrance; they are a people of canoeists; their traditions are widely influenced by life on the river, and their mode of living finds in this a deep originality.

131 In fact, setting aside the gold miners' villages, we can say 133 that the populations of the Guianas living by exploitation of the 182 natural resources of the country have a linear habitat: it can be 171 estimated not in surface but in length, for it is limited to a band of one kilometer along each watercourse accessible to pirogues. These watercourses are limited in number, for one can take for granted that at a distance of some 20 kilometers from the source of each river, the congestion caused by fallen trees and parasitic vegetation prevents easy movement.

[161] Actually, considering the very low density of the population, [226] the small rivers are scarcely utilized except as fishing places.

487 All the rivers are interrupted by falls and rapids which render 501 the use of large boats impossible. The pirogues of the Refugee

/23 cont./

621 175 [166] [103] Agodé was founded by Grand Man Ochi, probably about 1895, at the time when the Boni were required by the settlement of the Lawa Dispute to evacuate the villages they were occupying on the Surinam bank. The name Boniville was given by the gold miners; it was used never at all by the Boni.

621 613 [103] The Yakubi or Kotika lineage forms the important village of Kotika (1). It is one of those which have remained best grouped.

1. This word alludes to the river where the rebellion of 1772 began.

[423] [241] [103] Its members have exclusive rights over the region included between Abunasunga Falls and their village. They have farmed there for more than a century, and this is why the region is called Abattis Kotika.

613 621 175 [648] Kotika is the oldest Boni village. It is one of those founded by the survivors of the battles against the Dutch when, about 1815, they settled again on the Lawa. Until about 1895 nearly all the Boni were grouped in one large village, each lineage occupying a different quarter. At the time of the settlement, unfavorable to France, of the Lawa Dispute (1895), the various lineages emigrated, founding especially the villages of l'Enfant Perdu, Loka, Boniville, and Papaïston. Only the members of the Kotika lineage stayed, in full agreement with the grand man, so that the ancestral land might not be completely abandoned. [648] [628] Thus the inhabitants of this village are nowadays under the authority of Surinam, without ceasing, for that reason, to be faithful to the grand man and maintaining normal relations with the other groups.

613 614 [124] The genealogies reconstituted in 1957 by systematic interrogation of the old people of the group had led to three distinct fractions which we shall call Kotika 1, 2, and 3, tracing respectively back to ancestresses named Kénéya, Amawi, and Oka.

/60/

There are no gardens around the cabins because the conditions of the soil and climate render permanent cultivation impracticable. The nearest thing is a few persons planting some banana trees around the hut at the foot of which they spread the hearth ashes. As a general rule villages are closely hemmed in by secondary brushwood, and people plant far from one another and sometimes very far from the village.

If it does not admit the appropriation of land to individuals, custom does admit, on the other hand, the ownership of trees. In the villages the useful trees (coconut trees, maripa palms /attalea excelsa/, mango trees, cashew-apple trees, etc.) all have owners. The tree is considered as personal property and is transmitted by inheritance in the same way as a gun or a canoe. The procedure employed by the Boni for the dispersion of the inheritance among the members of the lineage of the dead man sometimes has the effect of transmitting the ownership of a tree to a person who is not of the village. For example, in Boniville where a fraction of the Kotika lineage lives, two caumou palms were bequeathed a long time ago to members of the lineage living in Kotika, who come each year to gather the fruit.

Appendix

Local Chronology Used for Determining Ages

1876 Death of Grand Man Atyaba.

1877 Trip of the explorer Crevaux from the Maroni to the Yari and the Amazon, in the company of Apatu, head of the Boni village.

1882 Apatu secedes, taking with him about 150 persons and founds the village which bears his name on the lower course of the Maroni.

/68 cont./

613 624 [562] The basia are the mouthpieces of the captain, and not at all deputies having specific authority over a definite fraction of the village. There are three or four per village; in addition there are one or two women basia through whom the village head commands the work reserved for the women.

613 554 241 702 The head of the lineage possesses no religious powers over the land. The Refugee Blacks assume that the fertility of the soil depends exclusively on local divinities, to whom each one prays on his own behalf.

613 554 681 The captain, no more than the council, does not have the right to expel a member from the lineage, even for marked unworthiness. This is one of the most remarkable aspects of the legal conceptions of the Refugee Blacks, tied to the idea that a lineage represents only one single life. There again the thought of the Refugee Blacks can be regarded as the extreme opposite of the thought of the Bamiléké, with whom the head alone retains possession of the rights over the land, expulsion constituting the supreme social sanction.

881 Initiation; age classes; men's society. These African institutions seem totally unknown to the Refugee Blacks. No form of initiation of adolescents exists, and no ceremony marks collectively their entrance into social life. Circumcision and excision are not practiced. For the children, boys and girls, there are two stages: that of the first garment, which is given upon the appearance of the pubic hair, at about 12-13 years, without ceremony, and the end of education which coincides with marriage. [304] [852] [561]

561 The society of the Refugee Blacks rests however in large part on age hierarchy; strictly speaking there are no age classes involving a fixed organization, but they exist tacitly:

/72 cont./

643 778 241 The grand man acts as land head for the whole of the tribe. It is he who has the care of the sanctuary of mama gɔ̃ and who prays each year in the presence of a large gathering of people for the fertility of the soil.

643 793 776 982 The grand man is the priest of Odun, divinity whom the Boni regard as avenger of offenses against moral and religious law; by virtue of this, he alone is qualified to administer the oath against wiʃi (sorcery) and to implore the mercy of Odun toward those who have gone against his laws by fighting with arms.

643 156 In his religious functions this usually weak and unobtrusive man acts with sovereign authority and assurance, and we have several times seen people tremble before him.

643 681 [673] If someone has seriously transgressed the customary laws, or if he has stolen, committed adultery, given blows, poured forth serious insults or curses, the grand man inflicts on him punishment proportional to the gravity of the offense, such as making planks, /73/ a boat, pounding rice (if it is a woman). The product of the punishment is acquired by the grand man, as are the fines in money which he imposes in less serious cases.

643 685 For example in October, 1952, two adolescents of Boniville, Awétipay and Adyuka, were surprised while they were trying to break into an inhabited house; the grand man sentenced them forthwith to three days of forced labor, in the course of which he made them clean the approaches to the village and collect for his benefit wood for heating.

643 689 462 He can also punish disobedient or disrespectful young men by making them do work reserved for women, such as weeding the approaches to the village and the removal of dog droppings.

643 681 The grand man can confine a man to Boni villages by forbidding him to go beyond l'Enfant Perdu to the north and Kormotibo to the south; that is called sitafu sama (sitafu = captive). The man concerned, deprived of means of earning his living, thus becomes dependent on his family until he makes honorable amends.

423 613 671 [428] /77 cont./

Land held by right of use cannot be sold nor rented, but only loaned. Neither can it be transmitted by inheritance; this would be entirely contrary to the thinking and custom of the Refugee Blacks, hostile to everything that would violate the legal joint possession of the lineage. Inheritance can affect only the harvest in process from clearings. [425] Once this harvest is made, the land can be occupied by any member of the lineage, man or woman, who wishes to cultivate it; and if there is any dispute, it is obligatorily settled within the lineage; the grand man would refuse to judge it. Kinship degree /78/ does not enter in, at least in principle, since they can say to each other "brother," "uncle," or "grandfather" in the classificatory sense.

423 428 The only attenuation of the rigor of this principle provided for by custom is that upon the death of a woman, her daughters have a right of priority to utilize her lands.

423 241 128 The Refugee Blacks have a clear tendency to remain faithful all their lives to the same clearings. The study we have made of the clearings in Boni country gives poor information on the history of each clearing, for it would have been necessary to be able to consult on the spot a large number of people, which we were not able to do; nevertheless it allows us to state that in the neighborhood of the residence villages, individuals keep their right of use of a clearing for the length of their lives.

42 241 Here is for example the transmission of rights over clearings 101 to 112 /sic/ (see genealogical table of the Dju lo) (1).

1. See plate at the end of this work: Distribution of lands in the neighborhood of the principal Boni villages.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
101 ○ Téodora (G40)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of her mother.
102 ○ Kukusa (F40)	1953	right created by Kukusa by clearing off an old secondary forest without a known user.
103 ○ Paana (G2)	1955	clearing cleared off by ○ Wima (E3); transmitted during her lifetime to her daughter ○ Tini (F1), then to ○ Pamasa (E26), raised by Tini. Pamasa worked it once, then gave her right to ○ Paana, daughter of Tiya /Tina?/.
104 ○ Tini (F1)	1954	right created by Tini (F1), who cleared it off for the first time (about 1920?); she has cut it three times in all; keeps her right of use.
105 ○ Lènga (F37) /F36?/	1954	cleared off by ○ Lènga for the first time (about 1920?). She has cut it 3 times in all; keeps her right of use.

/78 cont./

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Clearings Studied in January, 1957 (cont.)

Last user	Year	Transmission of Rights of Use
106 ○ /△ ?/ Féni (G3)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of △ Agoabuchi, old man of the Dju lineage (position on the genealogical table uncertain). /79/
107 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	it was △ Loka (D13) † 1951, who cleared off this land a long time ago. During his lifetime he ceded his right to ○ Tini, who cut it 2 times in all.
108 ○ Tini (F1)	1955	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Asoso (E7) † 1953, ancestress who had farmed there for a long time.
109 ○ Félicia (G41)	1954	occupied this land upon the death of ○ Anna † (E22), her grandmother.
110 ○ Téodora (G20)	1956	occupied this land upon the death of her mother Dondo † 1954, who had herself occupied it upon the death of her mother Anna (E22).

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241 Thus out of ten clearings we find only two cases where a member of the lineage gave his right of use to another during his lifetime; in four cases the right of use was taken over by a daughter upon the death of her mother; in two cases it passed to a distant relative.

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562 Anyone, man or woman, may hold rights of use. But examination of the clearings shows that the great majority of men do not ask for any, and that nearly all the land is appropriated by women. In the example noted, out of ten clearings only one is appropriated by a man. This derives from the fact that most men are content to cut their wives' clearings on their wives' lands but do not bother to farm on their own account.

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[613] Each woman holds rights of use over a certain number of clearings distributed in the different territorial zones of her lineage. It is important to have, so to say, many cords to one's bow, for it is necessary to be able, according to the activity of the manioc ants, to pass from one sector to another or on the contrary to work prematurely a clearing which one was hoping to leave fallow for several years.

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[423] For example, Tini (F1) holds rights over six to seven clearings. For one (No. 104), she created the right of use on her own behalf by clearing it out of old secondary forest without any known owner. As for another (No. 107), she received it from Loka (D13), a distant relative, as a gift during his lifetime. As for the others (for example No. 106), she created the right on her own behalf by farming them first upon the death of their holder.

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423 The right of use can be loaned, either to a member of the lineage or even to an outsider. It is specified that the loan is made for a certain number of years and that it is revocable. In such a case the donor does not lose his right of use.

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241 423 425 613 Real right. The principle is that he who makes a clearing out of primary forest (or old secondary forest without a known owner) creates at the same time as a right of use for himself, an imprescriptible right for his lineage.

These two notions are very separate in the minds of the Refugee Blacks. The exercise of a right of use, even over a long period of time, over land already recognized as the possession of another lineage does not create any real right at all.

For example, ○ Béniti † 1953 (E5), an old woman of the Dju lo, had founded a farming habitation in the Kuyaku locality, where she worked the earth for several tens of years. But since these lands, even though unoccupied, were regarded as belonging to the Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village), Béniti's work did not create any right at all for the Dju lo. If her daughters do not agree and if the habitation disappears, it is people of the Dipélu II lo who will be able to occupy the lands.

613 571 425 423 Consequences of the material scission of a lineage. When fraction A' of lineage A emigrates and goes to settle on the land of another village, B, which cedes a portion of land to it, the members of fraction A', thus separated, keep all their rights over the land from which they originally came. But the reverse is not true: the people who remained in the village of origin of the lineage (A) have no right over the land ceded to the A' out of B's territory.

At the end of a certain time, and especially if the lineage (B) had never really occupied the land granted, it is assumed that the lineage (A') is possessor of it without restriction.

This was the case for example of the fraction of the Dipélu II who left Kormotibo village about 1930 to establish themselves in Asisi near the Awara Bakka lineage. The Awara Bakka granted them some unoccupied lands near Asisi village in the Tapo locality. [162] This fraction, now numbering about 30 persons, considers that it has exclusive rights over these lands where the Kormotibo people cannot come to farm, but it has lost nothing as regards its rights over Kormotibo soil.

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Territorial Implantation of Lineages

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311 As we have shown, the Refugee Blacks are caught between contradictory imperatives:

--Their legal thought, centered on joint possession by the lineage, pushes them to distribute land among the lineages in compact blocs;

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[241] --The geographic environment, and most especially the ravages of the manioc ant, obliges them to give to each individual the possibility of abruptly changing his territorial sector or to hasten the planned rhythm of his fallow fields.

The solution which has imposed itself has been to divide the lands of each lineage into a certain number of zones scattered on the two banks of the river. Instead of finding large blocks with a single holder, we are going to find sectors sometimes rather small. With that exception, the legal principles of the Refugee Blacks keep all their practical value.

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[489] Each village possesses a certain number of landing places or dégrads /wharfs/, from which fan out a certain number of paths. The wharf is the center of a territorial zone within which the members of the lineage fan out, pushing their clearings farther and farther, until they meet the clearings created by other lineages. At this moment a boundary is in effect created, at least in some points (1).

[184]

1. Among the Djuka it happens that a wharf may be common to two lineages and that the boundary may be marked by a big road perpendicular to the river and starting from the wharf; this system corresponds to a concern for establishing more precise boundaries between groups occupying land to the maximum. It is not observed anywhere in Boni country.

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423 311 This fact is easily observable in the neighborhood of recently created farming habitations. In the figure "Distribution of lands ... in the neighborhood of the confluence with the Inini" (see at the end of the present chapter), the lands of the Antonu habitation are clearly seen distributed along two paths, one on each bank of the river.

241 423 In the sectors near Boni residence villages, cultivated in days gone by, the main lines of these boundaries are known everywhere. Still, they are far from being as precise as in the African countries with dense population, where the absence of manioc ants allows a regular rotation of lands. In Boni country this rotation is most variable, the duration of fallow ground going from two to 20 years [136] [311] and more. Vast sectors where the activity of the manioc ants suddenly becomes greater are abandoned for many years. When they are cultivated again, people no longer remember the exact boundaries of the former clearings and the new holders cut their clearings in their own way, taking care only that they remain on the lands of their lineage.

000 /83/ STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS
IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RESIDENCE VILLAGES

Inventory of Part of the Cultivated or Fallow Plots
in January, 1957

62 [241] Study of the clearings of Agodé (Boniville). The lands adjacent to Boniville are worked in a very unsystematic fashion because of the composite character of the village population.

[613] Let us call to mind that Agodé includes fractions of six lineages:

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621 613 --The Dikan lo, lineage of the grand man, nearly extinct
--A fragment of the Kotika lo
--A fragment of the Dju lo
--A fragment of the Lapé lo
--A fragment of the Papaïston lo
--A fragment of the Dipélu I lo

621 613 423 241 The Dikan lineage holds the real rights over the whole of the lands situated on the eastern bank of the Lawa, from Puu Mofu Creek to the south up to the edge of L'Enfant Perdu village to the north.

The fragment of the Papaïston lo established in Boniville is in a special situation; it has for a long time possessed the lands situated to the south of Puu Mofu Creek up to the edge of Loka village (Lapé lo). This group has remained strongly organized and its members do not make clearings outside their zone, in which they have all the space desirable anyway.

[643] The members of the other groups make their clearings on all the surface formerly occupied by the Dikan lo. The grand man has reserved for his personal use the lands situated near Likanaon Creek, where he has built a farming habitation. The inhabitants of Boniville make their clearings on all the rest and without any definite territorial grouping.

[101] This finage (1), like the others studied in the present chapter, was

1. Finage: zone cultivated by the members of a collectivity.

visited in January, 1957, in other words shortly after the end of the land-clearing and at the beginning of the planting.

Study of some clearings of the Agodé bakka locality "behind Boniville":

abbreviations: (K) Kotika (D) Dikan (Dip) Dipélu
(Dju) Dju (P) Papaïston (L) Lapé

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1 ○	Kamina (K2, E92) clearing cut by her husband	1956	lived in Boniville	4 years; last user Todo (K2, F68), in 1952
2 △	Grand Man Difu (D)	1953	--	2 years; used by the grand man in 1951
3 ○	Béniti (Dju, E5)	1951	--	cleared by Béniti about 1915, cut by her 3 times in all
4 ○	Mimi (K3, E156)	1951	--	cut on old secondary forest
5 △	Todo (K2, F68)	1951	--	2 years; already cut by Todo in 1951 and 1953
6 ○	Lèya (K2, F99); clearing cut by her husband	1956	--	6 years; clearing cut by Kanayen (Kotikalo) † in 1950
7 ○	Lésina (K2, F69) clearing cut by her husband Manku (Dip. I)	1953	--	?

[Agodé bakka locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
8	△	Grand Man Difu	1952	--	?
9	○	Paata (Djuka woman settled in Boniville)	1947(?)	id.	already used by Paata about 1940
10	○	Térésa (L2, E57) clearing cut by her sons	1953	id.	?
11	○	Paata (see above)	1953		already used by Paata in 1950

Thus, out of this group of eleven clearings, two remain attributed to the grand man, one to a woman of the Dju lineage, two to a Djuka woman, one to a woman of the Lapé lineage, five to members of the Kotika lineage, all inhabitants of Boniville. /85/

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[554]

Study of the clearings of the fraction of the Papaïston established in Boniville. This group formerly lived in Puu Mofu village at the mouth of the creek of the same name, abandoned about 1940 following an epidemic. Its settlement in Boniville is therefore recent. The oldest man in the group, Bukuman, a man of some 60 years, exerts de facto authority.

This group tends to add to its initial finage the band of land included between Boniville village and Puu Mofu Creek belonging to the Dikan lo (especially clearings Nos. 12, 13, 14).

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
12 ○	Apinda (P1, G26)	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 years; last user Adyuba (D) † mother of the grand man
13 ○	Alasani (P1, F34)	1953	id.	20 years idem
14 ○	Lémiki (K3, E130)	1945 (?)	lives in Boniville	20 years (this clearing is not in Papaïston territory)
15 △	Bukuman (P1, F32), for his wife	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction in Boniville	20 to 25 years
16 ○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1954	id.	id.
17 ○	Alasani	1954	id.	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	○	Térésa (L2, E57)	1955	woman of Lapé lineage living in Boniville; has worked there as an exception with Bukuman's permission	id.
18a	○	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.
19	○	Pélui (P1, F33)	1954	id.	id. /86/
20	△	Bukuman, for his wife	1954	id.	id.
21	○	Pélui	1955	id.	id.
22	○	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1956	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	id.

[Papaïston fraction living in Boniville]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	O	Alasani; clearing cut by her son Nanga	1955	member of the Papaïston fraction living in Boniville	20 to 25 years
24	O	Apinda; clearing cut by her husband Amatodja	1955	id.	id.
25	Δ	Baafu (L2, E58), for himself	1955	man of the Lapé lineage living in Boniville. Has worked there as an exception with Bangasé's permission	id.
26	O	Pélui	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Boniville)	id.
27	O	Apinda	1949	id.	id.

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621 Near this clearing is the limit of the lineage lands; beyond
613 are the clearings of Loka village (Lapé lineage).
423 Out of the 16 clearings examined here, 14 are occupied by
241 members of the Papaïston group at Boniville, two are held by
[562] temporary users, outsiders to the group. Out of the 16 clearings 13 are held by women and three by men.

Lands of Loka village (Lapé lo). This village, with its annex
[614] Lapé Tabiki, is the residence village of the Lapé lo. The Lapé lo, whose genealogy is completely known and which remains geographically well grouped, is divided into two fractions without ceasing to constitute a lineage (bee) in the strict sense of the term. Its lands are divided into three zones:

--One on the east bank of the Maroni, behind Loka village.
/87/ --Another on the west bank (Surinam bank) opposite Lapé Tabiki, which we were not able to examine.

--Another upstream from Maripasoula, where part of the members of the lineage possess farming habitations.

[311] The first zone has been almost completely abandoned for about ten years as a consequence of an exceptional pullulation of manioc ants. We have summarized only a few relatively recent clearings there:

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31 Δ	Akwadé (L1, E22) for himself	1948	member of the Lapé lo	cut only once on old secondary forest
32 Δ	Akwadé, for himself	1950	id.	cut twice in all by Akwadé

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
33	Δ	Akwadé	1952	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
34	O	Awènkina (L1, D23); clearing cut by her husband	1949	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
35	O	Awènkina id.	1936(?)	id.	cut twice in all by Awènkina
36	O	Awènkina; clearing cut by her son	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 on old secondary forest
37	O	Chii (L1, D24); clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1952	id.	2 years; cut in 1950 by the same
38	O	Chii; clearing cut by her husband	1950	id.	cut only once on old secondary forest
38a	O	Madu (E41), Chii's daughter	1956	id.	6 years, a part of No. 38 taken up again

[Lands of Loka Village (Lapé'lo)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
39	O	Chii; clearing cut by her son Ayaubédé	1955	id.	?
40	Δ	Koniman (L1, E31) for himself	1953	id.	4 years (cut by himself in 1949)

[562] Out of the eleven clearings examined here, all are farmed by members of the Lapé lo; seven are held by men and four by women.

Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi village) in the Ingi Udu locality. The Dju lo, whose genealogy is completely known, also constitutes a lineage in the strict sense of the term. It remains well grouped geographically with the exception of a small group established in Boniville close to the grand man.

The lands of the Dju lo are distributed in several zones:

--One on the east bank of the Lawa, a little downstream from Asisi, in the Ingi Udu locality;

--One on the Dutch bank opposite Gengé Tabiki;

--One upstream from Maripasoula at the confluence with the Inini, where an important farming habitation is established (Atikati village);

--Finally, several members of the group make their clearings near Kormotibo in the Kuyaku locality, on the lands of the Dipélu II lo.

Clearings summarized here all belong to the first zone.

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Ubu locality]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
41	O	Téodora (Dju, G40); clearing cut by her husband	1955	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	20 years
42	O	Kukusa (Dju, F40); cl. cut by her husband Bernardin	1953	id.	a very long time
43	O	Paana (Dju, G2), cut it herself (has no husband)	1955	id.	6 years /89/
44	O	Tini (Dju, F1); clearing cut by her husband	1954	id.	6 years (?); cut 3 times in all since 1920
45	O	Lènga (Dju, F36); clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	4 years
46	O	Féni (Dju, G3), /Δ?/for his wife Abugu	1954	id.	7 years
47	O	Tini (Dju, F1); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id.	6 years (?)

[Lands of the Dju lo (Asisi Village) in the Ingi Udu locality]

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
48	Tini; clearing cut by her husband	1956	member of the Dju lo, Asisi fraction	3 years
48a	Sara (Dju, E27); cl. cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years (fraction of clearing 48)
50	Félicia (Dju, G41); clearing cut by her husband Akodo	1954	id.	?
51	Téodora; clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	2 years
64	Abo† (E8), for himself	1956	id.	2 years
76	Ata (F2); clearing cut by her husband	1956	id.	3 years
77	idem	1955	id.	3 years

Clearings 64, 76, and 77 appear to be enclaves a little within the Awara Bakka finage. Actually, from the very fashion

/89 cont./
621 in which these finages were constituted, one must not expect to
613 find clear boundaries.
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241 These 14 clearings are thus used exclusively by members
[562] of the Dju lineage living in Asisi village. All but two are held by women. /90/

It is interesting to study the kinship ties of the members of the lineage making their clearings in different zones. One might actually believe that there is a tendency toward individualization of sublineages, and that the descendants of a particular woman tend to hold exclusively the use of such and such a zone.

We see here that such is not the case.

In zone 1 (studied here), make their clearings: Tini (F1), Paana (G2), Féni (G3), very close relatives, but also Lènga (F36), Kukusa (F40), and Félicia (G41), whose relationship with the first-named is as distant as possible within the lineage: Félicia and Paana for example are relatives in the 12th degree.

The same thing is observed in other zones, as we shall see in the study of farming habitations.

621 Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi village). The finage of the
613 Awara Bakka lo is particularly interesting to study, for this lo
614 has a more complex structure. Study of the genealogy shows the
423 existence of three distinct fractions, which we have designated respectively as Aw.B.1, Aw.B.2, Aw.B.3. The Aw.B.1 and 2 fractions consider themselves as the same lineage in the strict sense (bɛɛ). On the contrary, fraction 3 can be considered as a separate lineage from the point of view of legal responsibility. Moreover, the members of the small Afi lineage, living with the Awara Bakka, also constitute a separate unit from the legal point of view. It is important to study whether that carries over into their territorial implantation.

[Lands of The Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

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We were not able to carry this study out exhaustively because the great mass of lands cultivated by the Awara Bakka are situated on the Surinam bank. The clearings summarized here are grouped in a zone called Ingi Udu; they are served by two landing places or dégrads, borrowed exclusively by the Awara Bakka.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 O	Kyéti (Aw.B.1, E30); cl. cut by her brother Agibidon	1954	member of the Awara Bakka Io, 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest
62 O	Mani (Afi lineage); clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1956	member of the Afi lineage, living in Asisi	2 years
63 O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her brother Agibidon	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi village	2 years; cut 4 times in all, the 1st about 1949 /91/
65 O	Akanté (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her husband Poopu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66	O	Kyéti; clearing cut by her husband Sosoman	1954	id. 1st fraction	2 years
67	O	Lébimichi (Aw. B.1, F27); clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
68	O	Anèta (Aw.B.3); clearing cut by her son-in-law Kéwénu	1956	id. 3rd fraction	4 years
69	O	Agyasu (Aw.B.1, F38); clearing cut by her brother Baliki	1956	Awara Bakka, 1st fraction, Asisi vge.	4 years
70	O	Emma (Aw.B.2); clearing cut by her son Akodo	?	id. 2nd fraction	4 years
71	O	Irma (Aw.B.1, E37); clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1956	id. 1st fraction	cut on old secondary forest

[Lands of the Awara Bakka Io (Asisi Village)]

/91 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
72	O	Emma; cl. cut by herself	1955	id. 2nd fraction	3 years
73	O	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Abagon	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
74	O	Kilina (Aw.B.3, E71); cl. cut by her husband Amèmbé	1956	id. 4th fraction	4 years /92/
75	O	Namu (Aw.B.1, E48); cl. cut by her husband Koniman	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
78	Δ	Lawa (Aw.B.1, F43); for his fiancée Kula (Asisi-Dju)	1956	id. 1st fraction	?
79	O	Béma (Aw.B.3, E73); cl. cut by her husband Maïna	1956	id. 4th fraction	2 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village)]

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
80	○	Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E19)	1956	id. 1st fraction	4 years
81	△	Antonu (Aw.B.1, E47); for himself	1952	1st fraction	?
82	△	Adam (Afi lineage, c7); for his wife Dachini (Asisi-Dju)	1954	member of the Afi lineage living in Asisi	?
83	○	Titi (Aw.B.1, E18); cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	member of the Awara Bakka lo, 1st fraction, Asisi village	
84	○	Noémi (Aw. B.1, F51); cl. cut by her husband	1955	id. 1st fraction	2 years
85	○	Summa (Aw. B.3, F81); clearing cut by herself	1956	id. 3rd fraction	3 years
86	○	Léna (Aw.B.1, F52); clearing cut by her son	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years

[Lands of the Awara Bakka lo (Asisi Village) Boni]

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/92 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
87 O	Noémi; clearing cut by herself (having become a widow)	1956	id. 1st fraction	3 years /93/
88 O	Titi; clearing cut by herself	1955	id. 1st fraction	3 years
89 O	Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19); clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1959	id. 1st fraction	4 years
90 O	Titi; cl. cut by her son Dopia	1954	id. 1st fraction	5 years

[562] Of the 27 clearings examined, only two /sic/ are held by men, 26 /sic/ by women.

19 are allotted to members of the 1st fraction;
2 " " to a member of the 2nd fraction;
2 " " to members of the 3rd fraction;
4 " " to members of the Afi lineage.

Thus one can deduce from this study that there is no tendency toward the making up of separate finages by the various fractions of the Awara Bakka lo. The members of the Afi lineage living in their midst have no tendency to group their clearings, either.

In fact, the inhabitants of a village, even issuing from different lineages, possess joint rights over the lands.

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621 Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo, in the Tapo
613 locality. The fraction of the Dipélu II lo which has been settled
423 in Asisi for some 30 years and which remains subject to the
241 authority of the head of the lo living in Kormotibo, groups its clearings in a zone which has been allotted to it in the Tapo locality.

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
91	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1954	member of the Dipélu II fraction established in Asisi	2 years
92	○	Lawenchi	1951	id.	cleared off for the lst time
93	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1953	id.	id. /94/
94	△	Aténi (G20), for himself	1956	id.	id.
95	○	Kaala (G28); clearing cut by her husband Tamu	1954	id.	id.
96	○	Kaala	1951	id.	id.
97	○	Kiboya (G31); clearing cut by her husband Simon	1954	id.	3 years

[Lands of the Asisi fraction of the Dipélu II lo]

/94 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
98	△	Kopo (G32), for himself	1954	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
99	○	Tama (G29); clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1954	id.	?
99a		Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1949	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
100	○	Tyoko (G30); clearing cut by her husband Dodo	1954	id.	2 years
101	○	Tama; clearing cut by her husband Asékéyé	1953	id.	2 years
102	○	Chichiti (G22); clearing cut by her husband Obino	1953	id.	cleared off for the 1st time
103	○	Sésèy † (F38); clearing cut by her husband Mato	1951	id.	3 years

/95/

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[578]

Out of 14 clearings examined here, all without exception are occupied by the members of the Dipélu II fraction in Asisi. This fraction is geographically separated from the other lineages of Asisi village, and has formed a separate finage; that has to do with its relatively high effective force and the good relations among its members (the Afi lineage, with an analogous force but divided by disagreements, has not succeeded in forming a separate finage).

[562]

Of 14 clearings, 13 are held by women and one by a man /sic/.

Study of several clearings of Papaïston village. The part of the Papaïston finage situated on the French bank had been abandoned for several years because of an abnormal pullulation of manioc ants. In 1956-57 all the inhabitants of the village were making their clearings on the Surinam bank.

[311]

Only several clearings going back to the years 1947-50 could be identified.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
111 O	Efa (P1, D4)	1946	member of the Papa-ïston lo	cleared for the 1st time on old secondary forest
112 O	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1947	id.	id.
113 O	Oben (P1, E13)	1950	id.	id.

[Papaïston Village]

/95 cont./

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
114 ○	Gou (P1, F8); clearing cut by her husband Akwali		id.	id.
115 ○	Puti (P2, F71); clearing cut by her husband Maïpa	1951	id.	cleared off for the 1st time on old secondary forest
116 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her husband Baliki	1951	id.	id.

These six clearings are held by women of the Papaïston lineage, in accordance with the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks.

/96/ The Social System Illuminated by the Study of Implantation on the Soil

Study of the clearings in the neighborhood of the farming villages gives exact information about the structure of the kin groups which cannot be obtained by direct interrogation.

--Transmission of rights over land within the lineage fractions having the same residence constitutes an imprescriptible legal principle, to which one refers as the conclusive argument to settle every dispute; -

/96 cont./
123 613 621 571 emigrating fraction possesses exclusive rights over the /agricultural/ land /terroir/ it forms. But it does not lose, at least in principle, its rights over its original land /terroir/."

The study of finages gives us still more important information concerning the exercising of rights of use:

• 241 423 613 621 /97/ Of 100 clearings examined, 81 follow the normal process according to which the woman has her clearing made on the land of her lineage (1). Of these 81 clearings, 14 had been made under conditions not made clear, 48 had been cut by the husband, 14 by a near relative (son, brother, exceptionally brother or son-in-law), five by the woman herself.

1. For the joint sector of Boniville, the inhabitants of the village were considered as users of rights without distinction of lineage.

In only five cases it is, on the contrary, the man who brings his wife onto his lineage's land.

A little more frequent is the case of a man cutting a clearing for himself on his lineage's land.

Finally, the case in which, for reasons of convenience, a member of a lineage asks to work temporarily on the land of another lineage is met twice. Thus this is an extremely unusual practice.

182 171 [177] Influence of the geographical environment on the social structure. These observations are to be compared with the ones that can be made about the Oayana Indians and the Indians of Guiana in general, living near the Refugee Blacks, in the same geographical environment and almost in the same way (let us recall that the Refugee Blacks borrowed the whole of their material culture from the Indians).

Boni

Rucuyen SR12
Oyana

/97 cont./

R 105 [361] The Oayana Indians are half nomadic, moving their villages every ten years on the average. They have neither a permanent center of peopling, a place of worship, nor a cemetery; they do not have ancestor worship, at least no concept involving a precise and permanent tie between the living, the dead, and the land.

R 114 182 [136] This state of things has been attributed by several authors to the geographical environment and especially to the ravages of the manioc ant; the manioc ant, swarming particularly in formerly cultivated zones, makes nomadism advantageous. From this would have resulted a social structure and a mode of living adapted to these special conditions.

B 114 769 182 The example of the Refugee Blacks shows conspicuously that these considerations, in spite of their [illegible]e interest, do not constitute an explanation of general scope. For the Refugee Blacks, the only social ties conceivable flow from ancestor worship; above all the imperatives of material life the individual feels as a primordial duty the act of attaching himself to the village of his ancestors, to the land they cleared off and which remains under their protection.

B 182 241 423 613 The difficulties inherent in the geographical environment have been easily surmounted or gotten around. Rather than vast zones with one single holder, each lineage divided its finage into sectors distant from one another. If these zones become temporarily unusable, the Boni go to create farming habitations on the upper course of the river, without ceasing because of this to reside habitually in the village of their ancestors; there results from this no other constraint but losing two weeks each year in going and coming on the river.

/99/

That this system is perfectly workable has been sufficiently demonstrated by the regular expansion for two centuries of the tribes of Refugee Blacks and by the good functioning of their institutions.

Thus the basic instability of the Indians of Guiana cannot be attributed to the influence of the geographical environment alone. It comes essentially from social and psychological factors.

/100/ STUDY OF FARMING HABITATIONS

We are now going to study the functioning of the farming habitations under the same aspects:

--Structure (composition of each one, kinship ties);

--Territorial implantation: nature and extent of rights over the land;

--Functioning.

Not all Boni have a farming habitation; about two-thirds of them are satisfied with the lands they occupy near the residence villages.

The farming habitations we are going to study more especially and which are situated between the mouth of the Inini and Simayé Falls to the south, group about a hundred persons belonging to the Dju, Lapé, Awara Bakka, and Papaïston lineages. Another group of farming habitations situated a little south of Kormotibo, which we shall study briefly and only so far as their composition is concerned, bring together about 60 persons. Finally, other very dispersed farming habitations exist, belonging principally to the Kotika lineage, some in the Maripasoula region, others in the Abattis-Kotika Falls /region/.

On the whole, the Boni farming habitations cannot be compared either as to importance or stability with the Djuka farming villages which are placed at intervals on the middle course of the Maroni, grouping 3,000 to 3,500 persons: this is easy to understand: the Djuka, continually short of land, are obliged,

/100 cont./

241 62 [184] under pain of losing their rights, to occupy the soil to the maximum. Besides, settled very far from their residence villages, they are led to creating more lasting establishments.

Among the Boni, farming habitations do not amount to much, built carelessly (to designate them one says kāpu (camp), and the groups who work there are not very stable.

423 241 [182] 184] However, the principles of establishment and functioning of farming habitations are exactly the same for the two tribes and result on the whole from the customary laws which, among the Refugee Blacks, govern the possession of land:

[425] [613] 1) When a man cuts a clearing in a zone which has never had any human establishment, he creates at the same time as a right of use for himself an imprescriptible real right for his lineage (bɛɛ) or more precisely for the fraction of the lineage living in the same village and subject to the same authority;

[428] [613] 2) This right is joint; at the death of an individual, anyone of that fraction of his lineage may occupy the lands he used to cultivate habitually. If there is a dispute, it must be settled within the framework of the lineage; /101/ /Fig. 17 appears here/ /102/

3) The extent of the zone over which this right is exercised is limited only by the zones over which other rights are exercised.

We have seen what mode of occupation of the soil resulted from these laws in the neighborhood of the "great villages." Here the distribution of lands among the farming habitations follows practically the same laws, whose effects are less rigorous, considering the very low density of occupation of the soil.

425 [361] 1) It is taken for granted that an isolated establishment in a quasi-deserted zone does not create lasting rights. If it happens to disappear, anybody may come to settle there after ascertaining from the first occupant that he no longer needs the place (such is the case with the very scattered establishments south of Simayé Falls up to Indian country; they do not create real territorial rights for the benefit of any lineage whatever.

6:Hurault--145 K-5 (1948 1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8

/facing p. 100/

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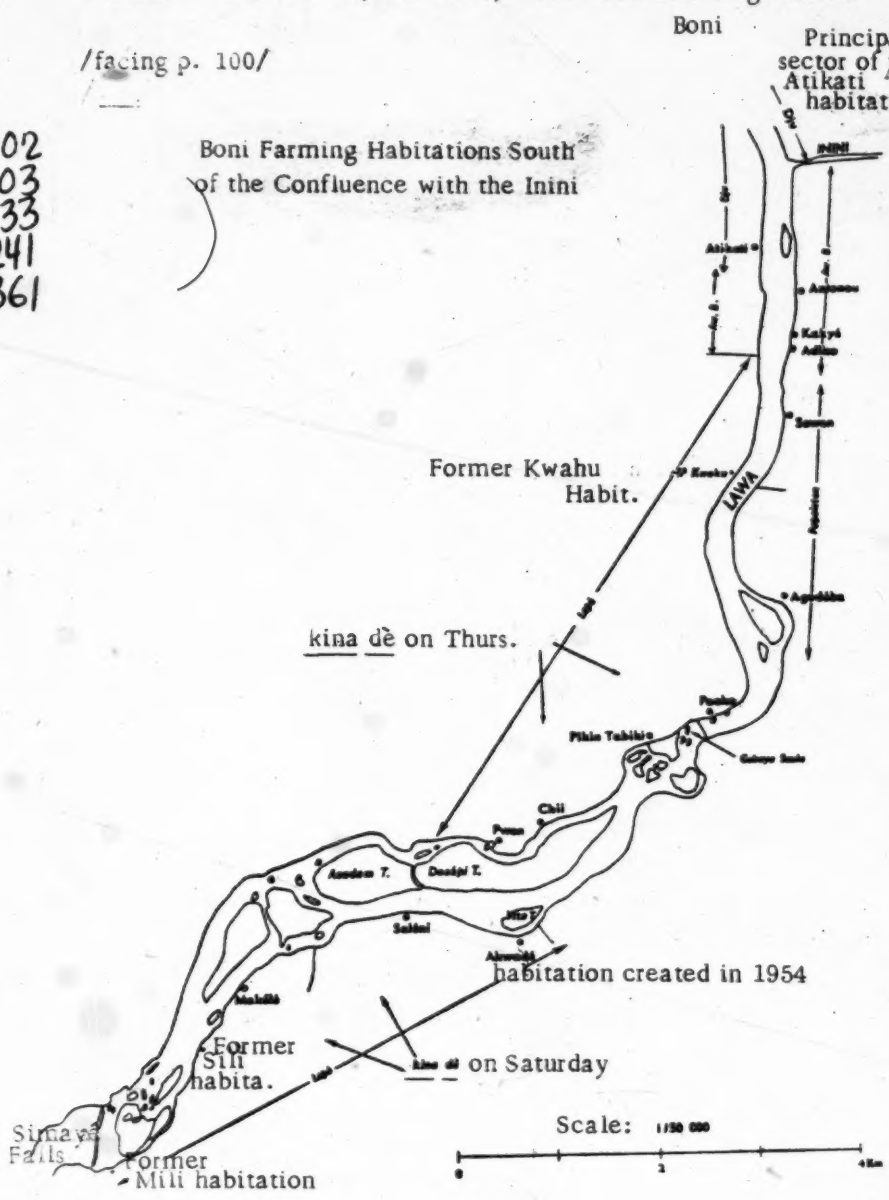

Fig. 17.

/102 cont./

425 2) On the contrary, from the time that occupation of a region becomes habitual, even by groups of small numerical importance, people pay attention to the attribution of the lands. [361] [613] Thus it is assumed that the west bank of the Lawa south of the Atikati habitation up to Simayé Falls has belonged, since the end of the last century, to the Lapé lo, which was occupying it in 1957 by the Paako, Samo, Pwen, Salén, and Makélé habitations.

423 613 241 361 3) Within each zone the rights remain joint and anyone of the same lo may come to settle there. Thus the farming habitations move around, but within a definite sector. Thus for example Kwaku (Lapé) abandoned in 1954 his habitation situated in the lands of the Lapé lineage (it was too damp in the rainy season, he prefers to content himself with the lands of the "great village"). He does not lose his rights because of this. If he decides eventually to come back, he will settle anywhere in the zone attributed to the Lapé lo.

182 161 241 361 425 It goes without saying that if the population were more dense, such a principle would be difficult to apply and that serious disputes would arise. But this mode of occupation of the soil is perfectly suitable, in their present situation, for the tribes of the Refugee Blacks, for it allows them to practice, with a minimum of friction, the seminomadism which the geographical environment and especially the manioc ant impose.

241 361 423 The zones occupied by the farming habitations rarely have a single holder: most often they are divided into separate sectors on different parts of the river.

504 613 361 423 Actually, as we have seen around the "great villages," each lineage possesses a certain number of "dégrads," or landing places, from which paths radiate. Each "dégrad" is rigorously reserved for the members of a lineage. The occupants of a farming village radiate from around their landing place until they

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504 /102 cont./
613 meet the clearings of the people of another lineage; a de facto
423 boundary is thus created, which is henceforth respected.

621 On the other hand, several farming villages of one lineage
241 may have their clearings totally intriqués /entangled/ (this is
613 the case, for example, with the ones of the Antonu and Adiiso
423 habitations). This conforms to the rule of joint possession of the land within the lineage.

621 Organization. The group in a farming habitation is brought to-
241 gether by mutual affinities, and has no hierarchy other than that
602 which springs from kinship ties: authority of the mother over her
592 daughters; authority of the "uncles" over the "nephews."
/103/ The grouping which conforms most to the matrilineal structure of the Refugee Blacks is made up of an old woman, her unmarried sons, her daughters and her daughters' daughters, their husbands coming to help at the time of the clearings but not belonging to the group. Often it is this old woman who directs the habitation, but often also it is an old uncle, her classificatory brother, who has worked with her for a long time. Sometimes this old woman has come to live with her daughters on the habitation founded by her husband.

103 Some of the habitations bear men's names, others women's
423 names. The name which prevails may be completely at variance
592 with the real rights exercised over the land (Ex.: name of Adiiso given to the habitation of his wife where Adiiso has no right at
[613] all). That has no great importance in the eyes of the Refugee Blacks, the only important thing being collective possession of the land by the lineage.

621 For groups which are relatively numerous and brought to-
241 gether more by mutual affinities than by kinship ties, the mini-
622 mum of authority necessary for good feeling and the organization of the work is brought to bear by the founder. For example,

/103 cont./

621 Atikati exercised authority by this right over the disparate group
622 around him, and at his death he bequeathed this function to his
241 sister Adyidya.

[613] Likewise Antonu exerts undisputed authority over three groups of the Awara Bakka lo settled at the mouth of the Inini, for it was he who took the initiative of creating an establishment at this place. If there is any dispute, it is he who will defend the rights of the Awara Bakka lineage.

622 The authority exercised by the founder of the farming habitation is not brought to bear in material living, which remains subject to the strictly individualistic principles of the Refugee Blacks. He cannot require anyone to help him make his clearings or do any work whatever on his behalf.

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613 Farming Habitations of the Awara Bakka lo
(Antonu, Adiiso, Kakyé)
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini

621 These habitations work soil whose first user was Antonu, of
241 the Awara Bakka lo (fraction 1), which is regarded as belonging
[613] to that lineage. Antonu settled there in 1945 (he was finding that
[423] there were too many people farming the lands near Asisi).

To insure his rights, Antonu put on his land two groupings
621 whose situations are very different:
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592 1) In his own habitation he installed his wife Asakundu, and
423 around her he made up the work group commonest among the
[476] Refugee Blacks: group formed by the mother, her sons and daughters, the daughters' husbands coming to help at the time of the /104/ clearings. But it is important to note that this group has no right at all over the land: if Antonu and his wife ever separate, the wife's group will leave the habitation.

/104 cont./

621 592 241 [423] 2) Nearby, he set up the habitation of his sister Irma married to Adiiso (Dju). This village is improperly called Adiiso, but Adiiso has no right at all there. In case of breaking with his wife, he leaves the habitation.

3) Finally, Kakyé, an old woman of the Awara Bakka lineage, settled nearby with her daughters and son.

Structure and functioning of the Antonu habitation. This habitation comprised in January, 1957, disregarding children:

- ○[△] Antonu (Aw. B. 1, E47);
- ○ Asakundu, his wife (L2, E55);
- ○ Kapéeki (L2, F60) } Asakundu's daughters, married;
- ○ Angisa (L2, F61) }
- △ Sindu (L2, F62), Asakundu's son;
- △ Maliki (L2, F63), Asakundu's son;
- ○ Yundu, Kapéeki's daughter, married;
- △ Anato, Kapéeki's son;
- ○ Agata, Akoni's daughter.

The wives of Maliki and Sindu who do not have any personal habitation come there to work, but they are not to be considered as members of the group. They have no hut.

Likewise, the husbands of Kapéeki, Yundu, and Angisa 241 come to help temporarily at the time of the clearings.

621 Activity of the Antonu village in 1955-56:

		1956	1955
○	Asakundu	1 clearing with Antonu	1 clearing with Antonu
○	Kapéeki	1 clearing with Akuba her husband (who did not make any other clearing)	idem

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/104 cont./

		1956	1955
○	Angisa	1 clearing with her husband Ernest (who cut 2 other clearings in other sectors because he has 2 other wives)	1 clearing with Antonu
△	Sindu	1 clearing for Amélia, his wife, 1 clearing for himself	id. (2 clearings)
△	Anato	en mission; cut no clearing; his wife weeded a two-year-old clearing herself	1 clearing for his mother (had made in addition a /105/ clearing in Asisi for his wife on her family's lands)
△	Maliki	same case	nothing for his mother, 1 clearing for his wife in another habitation

Study of the clearings of the Antonu habitation:

1) West Bank:

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
31	△	Antonu, for himself	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo, founder of the habitation	2 years (cut in 1950 for the 1st time on primary forest)

[423]
[613]

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
32	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	works there because her mother Asakundu is married to Antonu, but has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
34	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1952	Antonu's wife	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
35	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1948	like No. 32	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1945)
36	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu		like No. 34	cut for the 1st time on primary forest
37	△	Antonu, for himself	1948	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/105 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
38 △ /C/	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
39 ○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1951	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time /106/
40 ○	Asakundu	1955	like No. 34	4 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
	2) East Bank			
1 ○	Angisa	1955	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)
2 ○	Angisa	1956	like No. 32	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1954)
3 △	Sindu, for himself	1955	Asakundu's son; same observations as No. 32, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
4	○	Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1952	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
5	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her son Maliki		like No. 34	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
6	△	Amatodja (L2, F63), for himself		Asakundu's son; came to work there in 1953 only	
7	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband Madéko	1955	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
8	○	Noémi (Aw.B.1, F51); cl. cut by her uncle Antonu	1952	member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for 1st time
9	△	Antonu, for himself	1953		?

[Antonu habitation]

/106 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
10	○	Yundu; clearing cut by her brother Agata /listed as "OAgata, Akoni's daughter," on p. 149 -- Tr./	1953	same observations as No. 32 (daughter of Kapééki and granddaughter of Asakundu	cut for the 1st time /107/
15	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1954	like No. 32	cut for the 1st time
16	○	Noémi; clearing cut by her husband Galmo	1951(?)	same observations as No. 8	cut for the 1st time
17	△	Abéni (Aw.B.1, F49)	1951	does not usually work there, but has rights over the land as a member of the Awara Bakka lo	cut for the 1st time

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
18	△	Antonu, for himself	1951	like No. 31	cut for the 1st time
19	△	Sindu	1951	cut for himself; same observations as No. 2	
20	○	Asakundu; clearing cut by her husband Antonu	1950	like No. 34	cut for the 1st time
21		Noémi; cl. cut by her husband Todo	1950 (?)	like No. 16	cut for the 1st time
22		Angisa; clearing cut by her husband Ernest	1949	same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
41	○	Kapééki; clearing cut by her husband	1948	Asakundu's daughter; same observations as No. 32	cut for the 1st time
42	○	Kapééki; id.	1955	id.	id.

[Antonu habitation]

/107 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
43	○	Yundu; clearing cut by her husband Alémin	1955	same observations as No. 10	id. /108/
44	△	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
45	△	Maliki, for his wife Agyasu	1954	id.	id.
46	△	id.		id.	id.
50	○	Nella (K1, D44); clearing cut by her husband Agonichi	1936 (?)	woman working in Atikati village; had made a clearing there before Antonu's installation, then abandoned (manioc ant)	id.
51	△	Samalobi † (Dakan lo)	1920 (?)	Samalobi, first occupant of the place, had ceded all his rights to Antonu	d. /misprint for "id."?--Tr./

/108 cont./

62 592 24 423 613 602 406

Structure of the Adiiso habitation. This habitation actually belongs to Irma, Adiiso's wife, of the Awara-Bakka (1) lineage (E37), who was settled there by Antonu whose classificatory sister she is.

Working with Irma, disregarding children, are:

--Her husband Adiiso (Dju, F37);

--Her daughter Chitaïna (Aw.B.1, F43), married to Déési (L1, F45);

--Her son Lawa, unmarried;

--Her son Maïna, married.

Maïna's wife Mbéma, who has no other habitation, has her clearing made there, but she has no hut in her own right and is not a member of the group.

Activity of the habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
Irma	2 clearings (both by Adiiso, who cut a 3rd in Asisi for his other wife)	1 clearing cut by her son Maïna, Adiiso being on a trip
Chitaïna	1 clearing cut by Lawa, her brother, her husband being en mission.	1 clearing cut by her husband Déési

/109/

/Fig. 18 appears here./ /110/

Maïna	1 clearing for his wife Mbéma	Maïna en mission had not been able to cut for his wife. She had weeded a two-year-old clearing with Chitaïna and Irma

c:Hurault--158 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

/facing p. 108/

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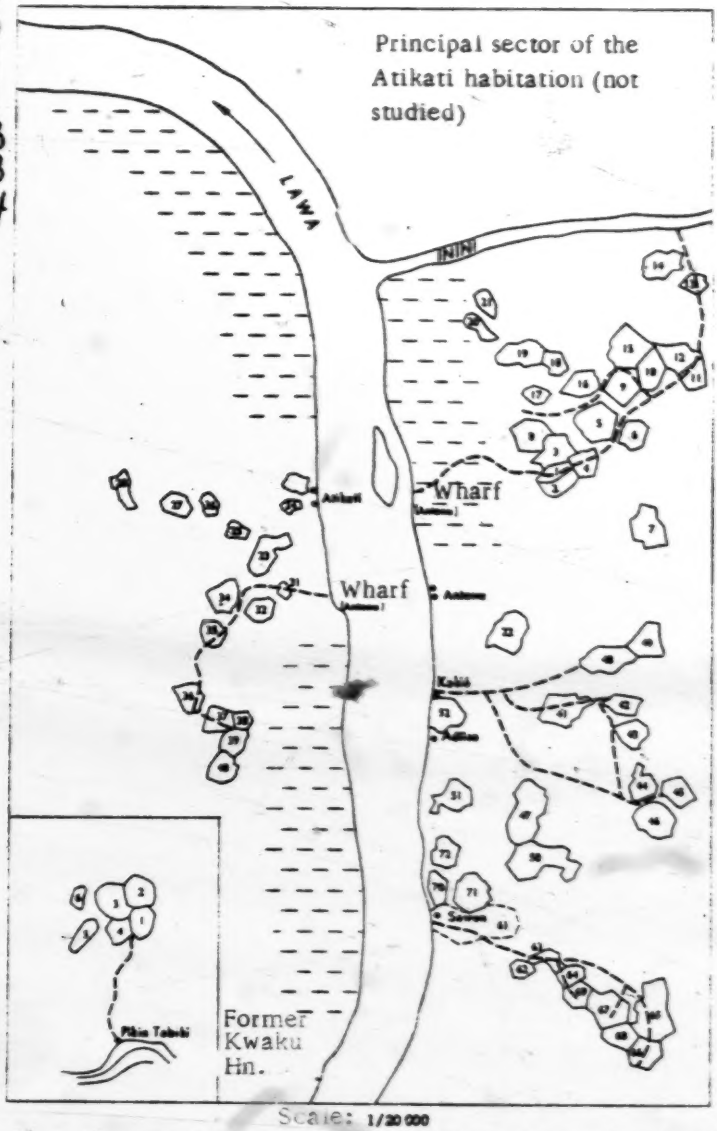
Distribution of Lands among the Lineages
in the Neighborhood of the Confluence with the Inini



Scale: 1/20 000

After photographs by the 003/200 IGN mission, taken in October, 1956

• farming habitation

flooding zone ⬡ clearings studied in January, 1957

Fig. 18.

621 592 241 [589] [476]

/110 cont./

Structure of the Kakyé habitation. This habitation is directed by Kakyé (Aw.B.1, E18), a widow for a long time and not remarried, working with her children.

Working with her are:

--Amélia (Aw.B.1, F19), her daughter;

--Papakay (Aw.B.1, F23), her son;

--Akamina (Aw.B.1, F24), her daughter;

--Lébimichi (Aw.B.1, F27), daughter of Yochi † sister of Kakyé.

241 592 621 423 [613]

Listing of several clearings of the Adiiso and Kakyé habitations. These clearings are totally mixed with each others' and with those of the Antonu habitation, which is normal since these lands all belong to the Awara Bakka lineage.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
11 △	Bésu (Aw.B.1, F17), for himself	1954	Kakyé's son (does not work there habitually)	cut for the 1st time
12 ○	Amélia; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1954	Kakyé's daughter	id.
13 ○	Lébimichi; clearing cut by her husband Asonson	1954	Kakyé's niece	cut for the 1st time

[Adiiso and Kakyé habitations]

/110 cont./

●241 592 621 423

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
14	△	Papakay, for himself	1953	Kakyé's son	id.
47	○	Irma; clearing cut by her husband Adiiso	1955	foundress of the Adiiso habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1951)
48	○	Amèntanu; clearing cut by her husband Sindu	1953	Kakyé's daughter	cut for the 1st time /111/
49	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Bésu	1953	foundress of the Kakyé habitation	id.
52	○	Kakyé; clearing cut by her son Papakay	1951	id.	cut one single time

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Habitation of the Dju Lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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[613]
[423]
[476]

Structure of the Atikati habitation (Dju lo). Important habitation founded by Atikati, of the Dju lo, possessing an extended finage fragmented into several blocks on both banks of the Lawa.

This habitation has an abnormal composition, for Atikati worked there with his daughters, which is contrary to custom, and with friends.

622

Atikati directed the village with his old friend Bernardin (K1, D62), † in 1958, who was the son of a man of the Dju lo and had lived among the Dju since childhood.

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[622]

The basic group of this habitation is made up of people of the Dju lo. Since Atikati's death (1955), his sister Adyidya (Dju, E19) has directed the village.

Members of the Dju lo:

○ Adyidya
○ Baawé (Dju, E13) } both without living children
△ Loko (Dju, F39)

△ Atikati worked with his daughters and granddaughter:
○ Wilèlmina (P1, F1);
○ Kumata (P1, G1), daughter of Wilèlmina.

To this group were added in 1957:
△ Bernardin (K1, D62), raised with the Dju;
○ Asumé (Dip. I, F2), daughter of △ Bernardin and ○ Mimen †.

[423]

Finally, two Kotika women married to Djuka asked for permission to settle there and have their clearings cut there. But they have no right at all over the land:

○ Nèlla (K1, D44);
Maké (K1, E35), her daughter.

/111 cont./

621 591 183 The composition of this village is thus entirely aberrant from the point of view of /112/ custom, and founded entirely upon personal fellow feeling. But the customary rule is none 621 613 423 the less present in the thought of all: the founder being of the Dju lineage, the land belongs to the Dju. The fact, for example, that Bernardin (Kotika) and his daughters (Papaïston) have worked there for a very long time creates no right at all for either lineage.

[591] If dissensions occur in the group, those outside the Dju lineage must leave.

● 24 621 423 Listing of some clearings of the Atikati habitation (west bank).

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
23	△	Atikati (Dju, E18) for himself	1952	founder of the habitation	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1950)
24	○	Wilèlmina (P1, F1); clearing cut by her husband Bésu	1955	Atikati's daughter, has no rights over the land	cut for the 1st time
25	○	Wilèlmina; clearing cut by her father Atikati	1951	id.	id.

[Atikati habitation (west bank)]

/112 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
26 Δ	Sosoman (Dju, E14)	1951	Does not usually work there but has rights over the land as a member of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time in 1950, part taken up again in 1955
27 ○	Héléna (P1, F2); clearing cut by her father Atikati	1955	Atikati's daughter; usually lives at the Sawen habitation; has no rights over the land	6 years; cut for the 1st time in 1949, partially taken up again in 1955
28	Adyidya; clearing cut by her husband Kwami (Djuka)	1949	woman of the Dju lineage	cut for the 1st time

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/113/

Habitations of the Papaïston lo in the Neighborhood of the Mouth of the Inini

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[476]

Structure of the Sawen and Agodéba habitations (Papaïston lo).

Habitations occupying an extensive zone, attributed for at least 60 years to the principal Papaïston lineage.

Working with Sawen (P1, E7) are:

--His nieces Hélëna (P1, F2) and Emilia (P1, F3);

--His nephew Aguundé (P1, F4).

Working with Agodéba (P1, E1) are:

--His sister (in the classificatory sense) Kamen (P1, E14);

--His niece (in the classificatory sense) Gou (P1, F8).

Moreover, a group is settled there centered on Toïna, Agodéba's wife, representing the last of the Bakabuchi lineage, almost extinct:

Toïna, Agodéba's wife;

/Δ/ Mangoto, Toïna's son;

Apuulobi.

[423]

This group has no right over the land and would leave in the case of a break-up of the Agodéba-Toïna household.

Finally, a female friend, Puti (F71), of the almost extinct Papaïston 2 lineage.

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Activity of the Agodéba habitation in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Agodéba	1 clearing for his wife Toïna	id.
○ Kamen	1 clearing cut by her husband Adam who made no other	id.
○ Gou	1 clearing cut by her husband Béku	id.

/113 cont./

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	1956	1955
○ Puti	1 clearing cut by her husband Maïpa (Dip. I)	id.
△ Mangoto	1 clearing for himself (he cut another for his wife in Kormotibo)	nothing (was not yet settled there)
○ Apuulobi	nothing (had her clearing made in Papaïston)	1 clearing by her husband Aténi /114/

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Listing of the clearings of Sawen village.

No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
61 △	Sawen, for himself	1920 (?)	village founder	cut for the 1st time
62 △	Sawen, for himself	1955	village founder	cut for the 1st time
63 △	Sawen, for himself	1948	id.	id.
64 △	Sawen, for himself	1946 (?)	id.	id.
65 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1954	woman of the Papaïston lineage (Sawen's niece)	id.

/114 cont./

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No.	Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
66 ○	Héléna; clearing cut by her husband	1955	id.	?
67 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1954	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
68 △	Aguundé, for his mother-in-law Populu	1954	man of the Papaïston lo making on his land the clearing intended for his mother-in-law	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
69 ○	Emilia; clearing cut by her husband Loko	1955	woman of the Papaïston lo	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
70 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	cut for the 1st time
71 ○	Emilia id.	1952	id.	id.
72 ○	Emilia id.	1956	id.	id.

/115/

Habitations of the Lapé lo
(Paako, Samo, Chii, Pwen, Saléni)

[62] [24] [613] [423] These habitations occupy soil belonging to the Lapé lo since the end of the 19th century.

The Kwaku habitation has been abandoned since 1943, its occupants making their clearings around Loka.

Paako habitation. The Paako habitation is occupied only by two women, Paako (L1, E29) and her daughter Dona, who have their clearings made there by their husbands.

Chii habitation. Chii (L1, D24) directs the habitation where she works with her son Topo, her daughters Yaana, Madu, and Koko. The daughters' husbands come to help at the time of the clearings.

[578] Pwen habitations. As a consequence of dissensions, Pwen (L1, E33) lives all alone in this habitation.

Saléni habitation. It is directed by Saléni, an old woman of the Lapé lo (E25), who works there with her son Tingo, her daughters Kayé and Ananta.

[613] Structure of the Samo habitation called Pikin Tabiki (Lapé lo).

Habitation occupying another portion of the Lapé lo finage.

Several Lapé men and women make their clearings there:

△ Tamu (L1, F32), who brings his wife Kaala (Dip. II) there
△ Fosé, his brother (L1, F33)
○ Mélita, his classificatory aunt (L1, E32);
○ Téké, Mélita's daughter (L1, F44)
○ Akomédi, Paako's daughter (L1, F34).

[183] The husbands of Mélita, Téké, Akomédi come to work at the time of the clearings but are not part of the group.

/115 cont./

621 183 The composition of this village therefore entirely conforms to the custom.

241 621 Activity in 1955-56:

	1956	1955
△ Tamu	nothing (he cut in Lapé for his wife)	1 clearing for his wife
○ Mélita	1 clearing by her husband Kwata (K)	id.
○ Téké	1 clearing by Mélita's husband, for her husband Baïna is en mission	1 clearing by her husband /116/
Akomédi	1 clearing by her husband Todo (who cut another one in Asisi for his other wife)	

241 62 423 613 Listing of several clearings of the Samo habitation (Pikin Tabiki) (Lapé lo):

No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
1	○	Akomédi; clearing cut by her husband Todo	1956	woman of the Lapé lo	cut for the 1st time
2	○	Akomédi id.	1955	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1953)

[Samo habitation (Pikin Tabi K.)]

/116 cont./

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No.		Last User	Year	By What Right	Duration of Last Fallow Period
3	○	Mélita; clearing cut by her husband Kwata	1956	id.	2 years (cut for the 1st time in 1952)
4	○	Mélita; cl. cut by her son Déési	1954	id.	3 years (cut for the 1st time in 1948, then in 1953 for the 2nd time
5	○	Téké; cl. cut by her husband Baïna	1951	id.	3 years (cut in 1948 for the 1st time)
6	○	Téké id.	1953	id.	cut for the 1st time

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Farming Habitations downstream from Maripasoula

Several habitations are installed in the Kuyaku locality, very fertile region giving high yields of manioc (1).

1. This fertility is explained by the nature of the subsoil (sills of dolerite).

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Ownership of the land: Dipélu II lo (Kormotibo village). Several habitations side by side:

/116 cont./

621 ○ Nanay (Dip. II) † ; habitation disappeared at her death in
241 1953; /117/
613 ○ Béniti (Dju) † in 1955; habitation taken up again by her
423 children and grandchildren: ○ Eliana, △ Doni, ○ Kulina,
○ Maria; ○ Tini (Dju);
○ Kotoïda (Afi lineage) † ;
△ Poopu, established there for a long time. He had abandoned the site in 1948; came back in 1952.

The composition of the groups is as follows:

1) ○ Béniti † (Dju, E5): her daughters Maria, Kulina, and Eliana. Béniti's hut has been taken up again by her grandson Doni whom she brought up.

2) ○ Tini (Dju, F1); habitation grouping Tini, Ata (Dju, F2), and their daughters.

3) ○ Kotoïda † ; habitation grouping Kotoïda († Oct., 1956) (Afi lineage), her brother Kenkina, her husband Empalé, her niece Samabun.

Other habitations:

Ma Efa (Papaïston), settled on Dipélu II lo lands upstream from Kormotibo (French bank) for about 30 years. Ma Efa (P1, D4) worked with her sons.

Gengé Tabiki (Dutch bank, upstream from Asisi village); small habitation founded by ○ Aliki (Dju, E23), with Lènga ○ (Dju, F36) and ○ Diana (Dju, E9).

621 Functioning of the Farming Habitations
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Structure. Of the 13 farming habitations studied here, 12 have a structure conforming to the residence principle of the Refugee Blacks, implying the grouping of daughters and unmarried sons near the mother; only one has an abnormal structure:

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591 /117 cont./

Atikati (daughters living with their father, groups of friends having no rights over the land).

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178 It seems that exceptions of this kind have always existed among the Refugee Blacks, but they are probably tending to become more numerous.

They do not appear to be due to a change of conception about family structure but to a development of individualistic tendencies. These groups of aberrant structure are particularly unstable.

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241 Stability; changes of location. On this point there is no precise custom. Certain farming habitations are old, such as those of Sawen and Atikati, which certainly date from the beginning of the century. Most appear to last from five to ten years. Others, like that of Kwaku, have had only an ephemeral existence.

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166 The changes of location of habitations which have taken place in this region since 1950 have very variable causes: /118/ /Fig. 20 appears here/ /119/

△ Dyakata (Dip. I)	left the region to live in the lower Maroni among the Paramaka for personal reasons.
○ Chili (Dip. I)	went to settle near Maripasoula. Gave up his habitation at Simayé Falls because of manioc ants.
△ Kwaku (L)	His habitation was too damp and the activity of the manioc ants too great. Henceforth lives all year in Loka.
[226] △ Akwadé (L)	Had no habitation, created one in 1954 near Simayé Falls. Was looking for a site favorable for fishing, from which he lives almost entirely.

On the whole, it can be estimated that the average duration of a farming habitation is about ten years. In these moves,

[Text Continues on P. 173]

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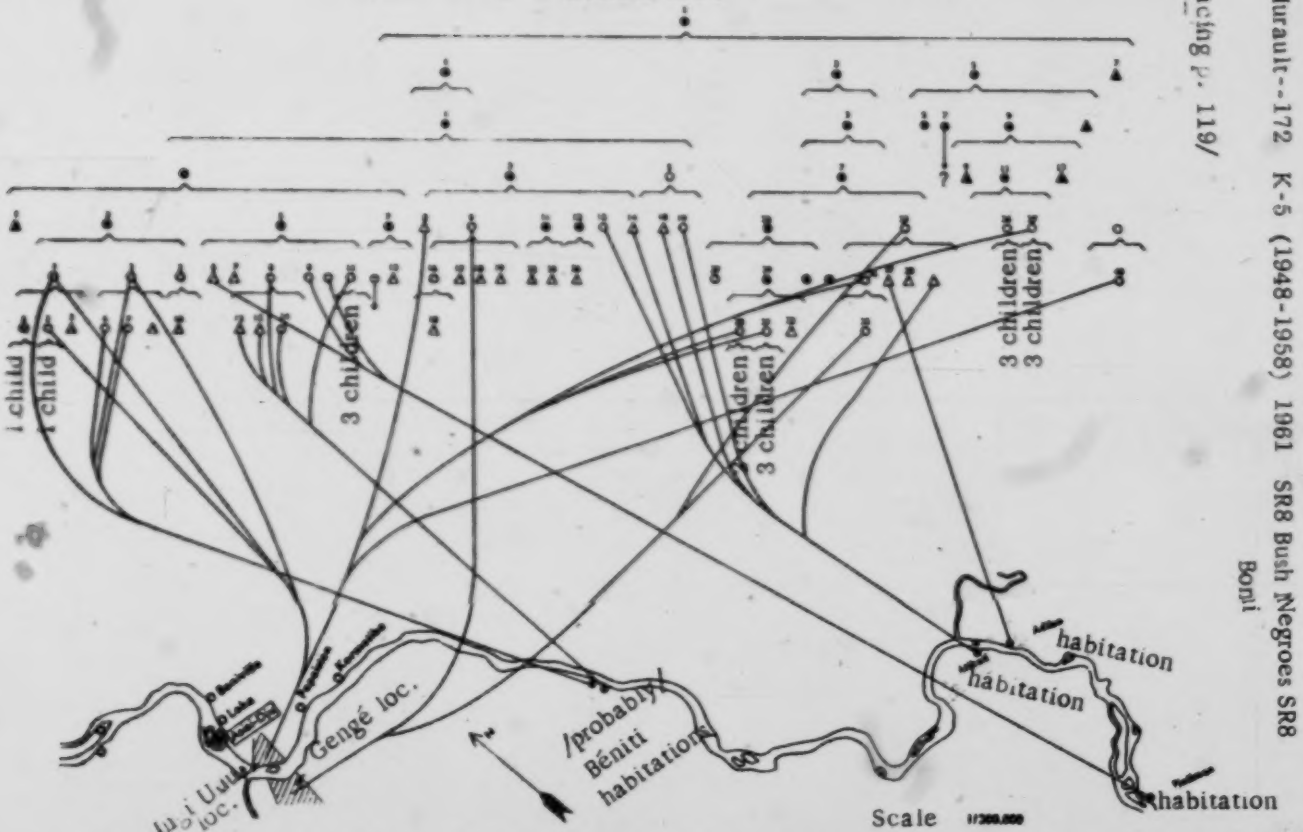
6:Hurault--172 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

Fig. 20.

Grouping of the Members of the Dju Lineage into Sectors and Farming Habitations October 1957

/facing p. 119/



This chart shows the absence of any tendency toward the scission of the lineage into separate fractions.

/119 cont./

361 241 166 exhaustion of the lands does not seem to play any part: considering the sparseness of the population, one can either make new clearings out of primary forest or carry out any system of letting land lie fallow one wishes.

Most changes of location can be attributed to two causes of equal importance:

[136] [613] --The activity of the manioc ants; we have said that since about 15 years ago the principal soil of the Lapé lo, situated near Loka village, has had to be totally abandoned as a consequence of exceptional activity of manioc ants. From this resulted the creation of several farming habitations on the soil of the Lapé lo studied here;

361 241 166 578 --Personal motives, among which comes first of all disagreement among the members of a group. For example ○ Kulina and ○ Bakamaman (Boniville, Dju) made their clearings until 1950 with their mother Béniti in her farming village in Kuyaku locality (to the south of Kormotibo).

In 1950 there was a quarrel. Kulina and Baïkom have made their clearings since that time at the habitation of their father Malobi (Lapé).

[768] It happens especially that upon the death of its founder a farming habitation disappears or changes composition entirely because disagreements arise.

361 24 166 Another cause of change of location of farming habitations is change of activity of their occupants. For example, a man grows old, he no longer finds paid work, he creates a habitation in order to take up fishing (Akwadé's case). When he reaches extreme old age, he abandons his habitation to move close to his relatives (case of Samalobi, first occupant of the lands cultivated nowadays by Antonu village). /Page 120 blank/

/149 cont./

592 The household. Household life is a limited association, freely
593 agreed upon by two beings who live totally independent of each other, the emotional life of each remaining almost entirely centered upon his maternal family. It entails reciprocal duties:

--For the man, to build a house for his wife in her village, to construct a new boat for her every three or four years, to cut a clearing for her each year /150/ and help in planting it, to furnish her with imported commodities, cloth, salt, kerosene, tools, which she needs, as well as game and smoke-dried fish;

--For the woman, to farm the clearing and furnish her husband when he comes to visit her with couac and the vegetables
[462] necessary for his food. (The man, used to living as a bachelor, owns his own cooking utensils and most of the time prepares his meals himself.)

This system of intermittent conjugal life seems to assure the Boni a perfect balance at the same time that it permits them
[562] to satisfy their taste for change. The men divide their life among work, visits to their different wives, hunting and fishing expeditions; their life is thus constantly renewed and they are protected against tendencies toward apathy and mental inertia.

In general, as long as the union lasts, the woman fulfills
[241] exactly her obligations; although the yield from the clearing is
[422] her property and the excess of the harvest is sold for her ex-
[434] clusive benefit, the man is assured of getting from her all the
[591] provisions he needs. On the other hand, many men, through laziness, get out of constructing a house for their wives and the latter continue to live with their mothers. In the villages on the French bank about 20 such cases were observed in 1958.
591 Several cases are even noted in which a woman, aged but still
592 having unmarried children, one or two of her daughters and their children are living together in one house. For example, in Asisi village, nine persons were living together in the very small house of their mother and grandmother Tini.

/154 cont./

586 As far as the clearing already cut and planted is concerned, if it is on the land of the wife's family, the man can demand nothing. However, some women continue to furnish couac for a year after breaking up.

If the clearing is on the husband's lands, the woman continues to farm it normally. But she is required to furnish [593] food as if there had been no rupture. This is why men who do [241] not trust their wives insist on cutting the clearing on land of their own lineage.

Many women wait to divorce their husbands until after they have cut the year's clearing! In January, 1957, upon the return of the border-fixing mission from the southern frontier, /155/ one of us heard M..., a woman of about 40, speak in these terms of her husband T..., 60 years old, who had done everything for her and still used to come to take part in laborious jobs to procure money for her: "He is getting old; I am going to have to look for another."

Observation at Maripasoula, Nov. 5, 1956.

Mutété, boatman of the Maripasoula post, laments in front of his comrades: his wife has just had him notified, without indicating any motive, that she was breaking with him. She did not even disturb herself to tell him so, and she waited until he had finished cutting the year's clearing for her! His [562] comrades once more expressed their rancor against the avarice, spitefulness, and inconstancy of Boni women, inferior beings whom they had once and for all given up trying to understand.

Among the Refugee Blacks people divorce at any age, at 70 years as well as at 18. Thus it is that Captain Diolé (+ 1951), head of the Dju lo, and his wife Efa, of the Papaïston lo, divorced each other about 1940 when both were approaching 70 and had remained together more than 35 years: in growing old their natures no longer hit it off.

/259 cont./

771 to the god, and their words of thanks lasted scarcely half a
[782] minute (1). At the time of our first trip on the Maroni, in

1. Yet custom expressly provides for this rite of thanking.

1948, the same scenes had unfolded, going as well as coming back.

241 771

Rites Relative to Agriculture

These rites occupy a relatively minor place in the religious life of the Refugee Blacks, which may be attributed to the great regularity of the climate and the absence of calamities affecting the yield of crops.

[613] It does not seem, at least among the Boni, that a religious bond is assumed between the lineage and the land, and rites intended to insure the fertility of the soil are carried out by each one for himself in the neighborhood of his own field; the lineage head does not appear to play any particular role in this regard. In the thought of the Boni, the fertility of the soil depends upon a local divinity, to which is offered de facto worship; the temporary or permanent users of the lands situated in the domain of this god perform on their own behalf the rites of this worship without any distinction of origin, whether they are Boni, Djuka, or Saramaka.

241 776

[796] The only collective worship existing in Boni country is
793 the worship of mama $g_2\tilde{5}$, of which the grand man is priest.
[643] Its rites are limited to a short annual prayer.

241 /259 cont./
776 Cult of Mama gɔ̃. Mama gɔ̃, mother of the earth, is repre-
[532] sented by a crude statue of white clay provided with enormous
831 breasts, symbol of fecundity, which can be seen in a little
[778] hut situated on the open place of Boniville village. Each
643 year, when the time for cutting the clearings approaches, the
[782] grand man, surrounded by many other people, prays to the
god to grant fertility to the plantings. If rain does not fall,
an offering of water and tafia is made and the statue is sprinkled.

811 The Boni do not appear to associate the idea of women's
fecundity with that of the fertility of the soil, and we have
not heard anyone say that the grand man prays on this subject.

241 Neither do they appear to have a very clear idea about
776 the relationships of this worship with that of the gɔ̃ gadu,
local gods of the soil.

796 Every three years a great possession dance takes place
535 in Boniville on January 1, /260/ in which the Papa gadu gods
787 dance in front of the sanctuary of Mama gɔ̃. We have not
been able to obtain specific information on the meaning of
this rite.

241 Cult of the gɔ̃ gadu. It is assumed that every portion of land
776 is under the sway of a local god, gɔ̃ gadu. Its power is
[784] limited only by the fertility of the soil, and he who neglects
its worship cannot be attacked in his person or in his goods,
but only punished by a poor harvest.

What is the nature of these gods, what is their place in
the cosmogony? These are questions which not one of our
informants had ever asked himself. In their minds, gɔ̃ gadu
has a de facto existence, and is rendered de facto worship.
This worship consists essentially of:

[782] --Offerings made at the moment of planting;

[527] --The observance of a local day of rest, kina dɛ,
corresponding to the god's day of rest.

/260 cont./

241 776 In order to observe these rites suitably, it is important then to know in which god's domain are situated the lands one is cultivating. On the banks of the great river, the division of the lands among the gods of the soil has been well known since the time of the ancestors. By summarizing the kina dɛ of the farming habitations, one realizes that the domain of each god is extensive; it occupies several kilometers along the banks. It is often thought (but not everywhere) that the two banks are controlled by different gods. For example:

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Downstream from Boniville, right bank: Wednesday;
Toward Kormotibo, right bank: Thursday;
Toward the mouth of the Inini, both banks: Wednesday;
Toward Simayé Falls, both banks: Saturday.

On those days one may do nothing related to agriculture, and in particular one may not dig in the earth nor plant. If absolutely necessary one may go to pull up tubercules.

What one must avoid above all is handling tools which make noise and could disturb the god, except in the immediate vicinity of the water which is not under its control. However, one may shoot off a gun.

This kina dɛ is observed more strictly than Friday, the general kina dɛ in Boni country, which appears to be related to the cult of Mama gɔ̃. On those days people mend boats and especially go hunting and fishing.

241 778 Offerings are made in a purely individual and local fashion; in each farming habitation is seen at the approaches to the wharf a worship place formed by a simple meat-drying rack decorated with pennants of several colors, on which the offerings are exposed; even if this habitation combines people of diverse kin groups, there is only one place of worship.

/260 cont./

241 778 People who have no farming habitation and who farm on the outskirts of /Fig. 29 appears here/ /261/ residence villages get together in groups of three or four to establish a worship place in a copse preserved from the forest adjoining their clearings.

241 782 Cane juice, syrup, rice pounded fine but not cooked are offered.

They make this offering at the time of the plantings, saying, "Gadu, please come and eat a little, watch over us, thank you very much."

The Boni who observe the rites most faithfully renew this offering each month at the new moon.

If someone has two clearings in two different sectors, he performs the rites twice, each gɔ̃ gadu being entirely independent of the others.

241 171 On this subject one notices that the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks are much more systematized than those of the Creole populations of African origin in the West Indies. They do not think each field has an individual soul; neither do they apparently believe in the possibility of capturing the soul of the field in order to make the neighbor's field sterile out of revenge. These beliefs, which play such a large role in the popular magic of the West Indies, seem to be without exact counterpart in the beliefs of the Refugee Blacks.

241 [776] Interdictions and various rites. Cutting a clearing involves great dangers: it is necessary to avoid injuring the maleficent divinities of the bush, which have as supports well-defined plants and animals, by brutal destruction of these supports, and their wreaking inexorable revenge -- the kunu -- on the lineage of the unintentional sacrilege. It is therefore necessary to seek out these plants and animals and to carry out for each the rites recommended by the ancestors' experience without forgetting a single one. No Refugee Black would dream of

/261 cont./

241 neglecting these rites. Their rigorous observance has the effect of preventing farming from becoming for them a commercial activity and of keeping a religious and family feeling in it.

824 778 784 [776] --The kākāti (silk-cotton tree) is a much feared tree, for according to the elders each one of them shelters 12 categories of divinities, especially a Papa gadu and an Ampuku. So it is absolutely impossible to cut it. One must even be very careful not to injure its roots which spread far. The site of every one felled is preserved. Likewise people watch carefully so as not to injure the roots of the big silk-cotton trees often found in the villages.

824 778 776 361 Still, the fact that their site was chosen for setting up a village shows that people believe they can make an alliance with the divinities which reside in a silk-cotton tree and draw their protection upon themselves.

824 778 784 [776] --The katu tree (Bombax Surinamiensis), tree of very large size, living in symbiosis with a parasitic liana which appears to enclose it in a gigantic net, also shelters maleficent divinities (Ampuku, Papa gadu, Bumba gadu). One may cut it down after performing rites whose purpose is to transfer these divinities into another tree.

First, one must have procured from a man who possesses this remedy a pot of ɔbia containing an infusion of leaves in the middle of which is a bracelet of fibers. /262/ It costs [435] two liters of tafia, four liters of beverage (beer for example), one large piece of cloth, and one machete.

Having arrived at the foot of the tree, one bathes his body and machete with this infusion; one puts the fiber bracelet on one's arm. One also bathes several small sticks provided [822] with squares of white cloth (for the Papa gadu), dark blue and red (for the Ampuku), and a pinot palm (pina tɔŋgo) leaf.

One plants the sticks at the foot of the tree, one strikes the trunk with the palm leaf while invoking the divinities of

6:Hurault--458 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

CHAPTER IX

SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ECONOMY OF THE REFUGEE BLACKS.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER POPULATIONS

Influence of the Social Institutions and Psychological Tendencies of the Refugee Blacks on Their Material Life and Their Economy

157 182 Certain psychological tendencies of the Refugee Blacks, in part bound up with their moral and religious conceptions and with the historical conditions under which these societies were formed, directly influence their material life in its various aspects: implantation on the ground, agriculture, paid work, trade.

The principal one of these tendencies is individualism, concern for complete material independence.

157 241 311 Influence on agriculture. We have seen that the clearings of the various households issuing from the same kin group were very rarely grouped together. On the contrary, the Refugee Blacks like to disperse their cultivated lands; even in the recently occupied zones where land is not lacking, it happens that one finds isolated clearings in the middle of primary forest more than a kilometer from the riverbank, at the mercy of predatory animals. Ecological conditions, in particular the concern with protection against the manioc-ant, do not explain this dispersion. The Boni recognize that it would be preferable, for fighting the manioc-ant, to group each year all the plantations of one lineage

/289 cont./

157 241 31 in a sector recognized to be undamaged. But objections immediately come to their minds: one would not feel at home, people would be jealous of one another; above all, the children would go pilfering fruit and vegetables in the clearings of other families. The Refugee Blacks are unanimous in thinking that the children of one village put together in a single place would constitute a scourge much worse than the manioc-ant, and that dispersion is the wisest solution for maintaining the peace of families.

562 241 One observes likewise that the total freedom of woman, and the custom which leaves to her /290/ the free disposal of the products of the clearing, contribute toward preventing the development of agriculture with an eye to selling. In order [592] to undertake large clearings farmed jointly by one household, it would be necessary to have very unified and stable households, which is rare.

157 476 Difficulty of grouping for common advantage. The Refugee Blacks are incapable of forming groups voluntarily to undertake the execution of a job with an eye to common advantage. The small groups which get together for fishing, working gold, etc. are formed of intimate friends or near relatives and are hardly larger than four or five persons.

157 454 The Refugee Blacks are still less capable of grouping themselves into societies looking toward future benefits. Putting a part of their resources into a common pot with that of another seems to them not only illusory but immoral. Because of this fact there exists among them no way to group financial assets, sometimes good-sized.

426 Lending without interest is practiced rather commonly, having to do with small sums between near relatives or intimate friends. If a man feels capable of earning his living by buying a motor, he will succeed rather easily in finding the necessary money by borrowing from his brothers or friends, 10,000 francs

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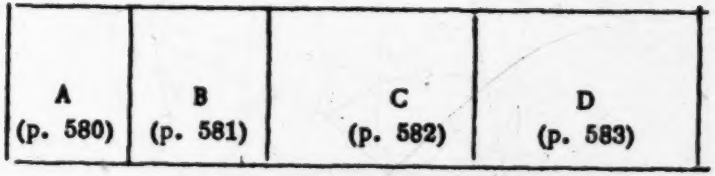

Chart of Positions of End Plate /facing p. 580/

6:Hurault--580 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

DIVISION OF LANDS AMONG THE LINEAGES IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF THE PRINCIPAL BONI VILLAGES

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
489
613
614
504

Photographic montage made with the help of photographs of Field Trip 007/200 IGN Guiana Scale 1/20 000 Taken in October, 1956

[Ena Plate - A]

6:Hurault--581 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
613
614
764
504

Scale 1/20 000

[End Plate – B]

6:Hurault--582 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SR8 Bush Negroes SR8
Boni

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Scale 1 / 20 000

[End Plate - C]

102
103
133
241
311
361
423
487
504
613
614

Agodé Permanent villages
clearings
floodable zones
boundaries not known
farming habitation
dégrad (wharf)
path
approximate boundaries of agricultural land

[End Plate - D]